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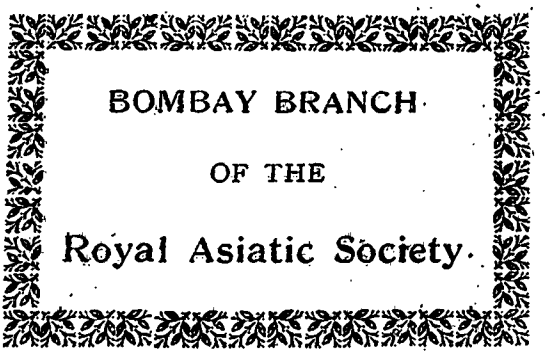

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ARTICLE I.

GRAMMAR

OF THE

106056

MODERN SYRIAC LANGUAGE,

AS SPOKEN IN

ORGOMIAH, PERSIA,

AND IN

KOORDISTAN.

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

It is an interesting fact that, although the Nestorians of Persia have for many centuries been conquered and outnumbered, and have had very little share in civil affairs, and their brethren in the Koordish Mountains have enjoyed only a doubtful independence, they have preserved to the present time a knowledge of their vernacular language. In Persia, most of the Nestorians are indeed able to speak fluently the rude Tatar (Turkish) dialect used by the Mohammedans of this province, and those of the mountains are equally familiar with the language of the Koords. Still, they have a strong preference for their own tongue, and make it the constant and only medium of intercourse with each other. This is the more noticeable, as in modern times, until within a short period, they had no current literature, and the spoken dialect was not even reduced to writing. Their manuscript copies of the Bible and other books were very scarce, and were carefully hid out of sight, covered with dust and mildew. Very few, if any, except the clergy, aspired to be readers, and still fewer were able to read with any degree of intelligence.

The first attempt worthy of record to reduce the Modern Syriac to writing, was made by Rev. Justin Perkins, a Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at Tabreez, in the winter of 1834–5, in connection with the study of the language, under the instruction of the Nestorian Bishop Mar Yohannan.

The first attempt to write it in a permanent and useful form, was made by Dr. Perkins in the construction of school-cards, in the winter of 1836, after he and Dr. Grant had settled at Oroomiah. On the 18th of January of that year their first school was commenced. Says Dr. Perkins: "Seven boys

from the city attended. They all took their stand in a semicircle around the manuscript card suspended on the wall, which Priest Abraham with my assistance had prepared; and as they learned their letters and then began to repeat a sentence of the Lord's prayer, for the first time, with a delight and satisfaction, beaming from their faces, equalled only by the novelty of their employment, I could understand something of the inspiration of Dr. Chalmers, when he pronounced the Indian boy in the woods, first learning to read, to be the sublimest object in the world."—*Residence in Persia,* p. 250.

In another connection, Dr. Perkins, speaking of the preparation of the cards for that missionary school, says: "There was no literary matter for its instruction and aliment, save in the dead, obsolete language. I therefore immediately commenced translating portions of the Scriptures from the Ancient Syriac copies, by the assistance of some of the best educated of the native clergy. We first translated the Lord's prayer. I well remember my own emotions on that occesion. It seemed like the first handful of corn to be cast upon the top of the naked mountains; and the Nestorian priests who were with me, were themselves interested above measure to see their spoken language in a written form. They would read a line and then break out in immoderate laughter, so amused were they, and so strange did it appear to them, to hear the familiar sounds of their own language read, as well as spoken. We copied this translation of the Lord's prayer on cards for our classes. Our copies were few. We therefore hung up the card upon the wall of the school-room, and a company of children would assemble around it, at as great a distance from the card as they could see, and thus they learned to read. We next translated the ten commandments, and wrote them on cards in the same way, and then other detached portions of the Word of God; and thus continued to prepare reading matter by the use of the pen, for our increasing number of schools, until the arrival of our press in 1840. This event was hailed with the utmost joy by the Nestorians, who had long been waiting for the press, with an anxiety bordering on impatience; and it was no less an object of interest and wonder to the Mohammedans. They too soon urgently pressed their suit, that we should print books for them also; and a very respectable young Meerza sought, with unyield-

ing importunity, a place among the Nestorian apprentices, that he too might learn to print. The first book which we printed in the modern language, was a small tract, made up of passages from the Holy Scriptures. As I carried the proof-sheets of it from the printing-office into my study for correction, and laid them upon my table before our translators, Priests Abraham and Dunkha, they were struck with mute rapture and astonishment, to see their language in print: though they themselves had assisted me, a few days before, in preparing the same matter for the press. As soon as recovery from their first surprise allowed them utterance, 'It is time to give glory to God,' they each exclaimed, 'that we behold the commencement of printing books for our people;' a sentiment to which I could give my hearty response."

The first printing in the Nestorian character was an edition of the four Gospels published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1829, the type being prepared in London from a manuscript copy of the Gospels obtained from Mar Yohannan, by the eccentric traveller Dr. Wolff, several years before, and taken by him to England for that purpose. This volume is all that has ever been printed in the modern language of the Nestorians, otherwise than by the agency of our mission-press, with the exception of one or two small Papal tracts, published a few years since at Constantinople, with miserable type prepared under the supervision of the Jesuits in that city.

Since the arrival of our press in 1840, it has been busily employed in printing books for the Nestorians, in both their ancient and modern language, mostly in the latter.

Dr. Perkins has furnished the following list of our more important publications, arranged nearly in the order in which they have been issued from the press.

THE PSALMS, as used in the Nestorian churches, with the Rubrics, in Ancient Syriac. 196 pp. 4to.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE WORD OF GOD, in Modern Syriac. (Extracts from the Bible.) 77 pp. 12mo.

THE ACTS AND THE EPISTLES, in Ancient Syriac. 8vo.

THE GREAT SALVATION, a tract in Modern Syriac.

SIXTEEN SHORT SERMONS, in Modern Syriac.

A PRESERVATIVE FROM THE SINS AND FOLLIES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH, by Dr. Watts, in Modern Syriac.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF THE SCRIPTURES, in Modern Syriac. 109 pp. 8vo.

SCRIPTURAL HISTORY OF JOSEPH AND THE GOSPEL OF JOHN, in Modern Syriac. 316 pp. 8vo.

THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW, in Modern Syriac. 192 pp. 12mo.

Tracts on FAITH, REPENTANCE, THE NEW BIRTH, DRUNKENNESS, and THE SABBATH, by Mr. Stocking, in Modern Syriac.

THE FAITH OF PROTESTANTS, in both Ancient and Modern Syriac, in separate volumes. 164 pp. 8vo.

SCRIPTURE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, in Modern Syriac. 139 pp. 8vo.

First HYMN BOOK. 10 pp. 12mo.

THE DAIRYMAN'S DAUGHTER, in Modern Syriac. 136 pp. 8vo.

USEFUL INSTRUCTIONS, in Modern Syriac.

THE FOUR GOSPELS, in Modern Syriac. 637 pp. 8vo.

THE NEW TESTAMENT, in both Ancient and Modern Syriac, the translation being made by Dr. Perkins from the Peshito, with the Greek differences in the margin. 829 pp. 4to.

SCRIPTURE HELP OR MANUAL, in Modern Syriac. 192 pp. 8vo.

BUNYAN'S PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, in Modern Syriac. 712 pp. 8vo.

QUESTIONS ON BUNYAN'S PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, in Modern Syriac. 99 pp.

Second SCRIPTURE MANUAL, and a larger HYMN BOOK, in Modern Syriac. 131 pp. 8vo.

THE SHEPHERD OF SALISBURY PLAIN, in Modern Syriac. 70 pp. 8vo.

THE YOUNG COTTAGER, in Modern Syriac. 98 pp. 8vo.

Smaller ARITHMETIC, in Modern Syriac. 24 pp. 8vo.

Larger ARITHMETIC, in Modern Syriac. 192 pp. 8vo. By Mr. Stocking.

A GEOGRAPHY, in Modern Syriac. 302 pp. 8vo. By Dr. Wright.

THE LORD'S PRAYER, TEN COMMANDMENTS and CATECHISM FOR CHILDREN, in Modern Syriac. 78 pp. 8vo.

A SPELLING BOOK, in Modern Syriac. 54 pp. 8vo.

THE OLD TESTAMENT, in both Ancient and Modern Syriac, the latter being translated from the Hebrew by Dr. Perkins. 1051 pp. large 4to.

SPELLING BOOK, with SCRIPTURE READINGS, in Modern Syriac. 160 pp. 8vo.

THE RAYS OF LIGHT, a monthly periodical, devoted to Religion, Education, Science and Miscellanies. Fourth volume now in progress.

In press, an edition of the NEW TESTAMENT in Modern Syriac, and BAXTER'S SAINT'S REST.

Ready for the press, SCRIPTURE TRACTS, of the American Tract Society, and GREEN PASTURES, an English work, consisting of a text of Scripture, with a practical exposition, for each day in the year.

Our schools have been gradually increasing in number, till the present year. We now have about eighty village-schools and flourishing Male and Female Seminaries. Of course, the number of intelligent readers is rapidly on the increase, and the modern language is assuming a permanent form. It should still, however, be considered as imperfect. It is difficult to give in a precise manner either its orthography, its etymology or its syntax, because the language is not to-day just what it was yesterday, nor just what it will be to-morrow. Until the publication of the Old and New Testaments, there was no standard of usage. It was difficult to say which dialect should have the preference. The same uncertainty in a measure still remains. If we assume that the dialect which is nearest to Ancient Syriac should be the standard, this will necessarily be unintelligible to a large portion of the people. We generally use the language in our books which is spoken on the plain of Oroomiah, unless there are obvious reasons for variation in a particular case.

Rev. Mr. Holladay, one of our missionary associates, prepared a very brief, though excellent sketch of the grammar of the Modern Syriac, about the year 1840. He also aided much in translating works for the press. His health and that of his family obliged him in 1845 to leave us for America, where he still resides, near Charlottesville, Va.*

Much time has been bestowed on the preparation of the following grammar; although, as it has been written with indifferent health and amid the pressure of missionary duties and cares, it has not been subjected to so thorough revision as it would have been under other circumstances. The Syriac has been written by Deacon Joseph, our translator,

* Mr. Holladay has kindly consented to superintend the printing of this grammar. COMM. OF PUBL.

who has had much experience in labor of this kind, and is perfectly familiar with the grammar of the Ancient Syriac.

My design has been to trace up the language, as now spoken, to the Ancient Syriac, and I presume no reader will complain of the frequent references made to Hoffman's large and valuable grammar. As some may find occasionally Ancient Syriac words written in a manner different from that to which they are accustomed, it may be well to suggest that the Syriac of the Jacobites, which has generally been the Syriac of European grammars, differs somewhat from the Syriac of old Nestorian books. The latter are of course the standard with us.

It may seem unnecessary to some to link in the Hebrew with the Modern Syriac, and I have had myself many doubts about the expediency of doing it. But, considering how many Hebrew scholars there are in America, who would take pleasure in glancing over the following pages, and how few of them are at home in Ancient Syriac, it seemed to me not inappropriate to adopt the course I have. The references to Nordheimer's Hebrew Grammar certainly add little to the size of the work, even if they do not at all increase the interest of the reader.

Every thing serving to develop the Ancient Aramean of these regions is worthy of investigation. And it has occurred to me, as not at all unlikely, that the Nestorians use many words, and perhaps grammatical forms, in their daily intercourse, which have never found their way into grammars and lexicons, and yet are very ancient, and owe their origin to the Aramean, which was once so extensively spoken in Persia and made even the court-language.—Ezra 4: 7, 8.

I at first designed to give in an appendix an outline of the Jews' language as now spoken in this province. It is nearly allied to the Modern Syriac, and Jews and Nestorians can understand each other without great difficulty. But whether these languages had a common origin, within the last few centuries, or whether they are only related through the Ancient Syriac and Ancient Chaldee, we have not yet the means of determining. The discussion of this subject, which is necessarily omitted now, may be resumed hereafter.

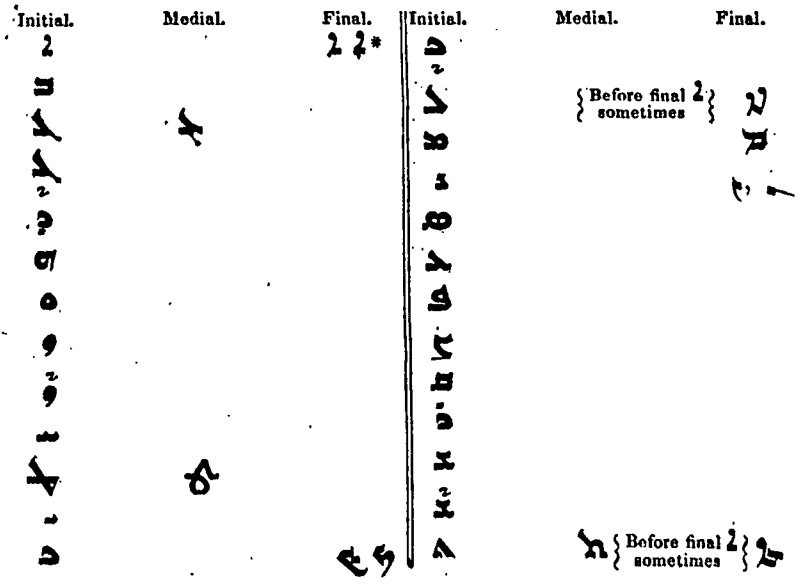
D. T. STODDARD.

Oroomiah, Persia, July, 1853.

ORTHOGRAPHY AND ORTHOËPY.

THE ALPHABET.

The letters of the alphabet are the same in number and bear the same names as in the Ancient Syriac, and generally have the same power. New forms, however, have been given to ܠ, ܥ, ܕ and ܫ, as will appear by the following table.



The Estrangela is still employed by the Nestorians for the title-pages of books and other occasional uses.

The letters ܐ, ܒ, ܥ, ܨ and ܒ̣, are never united with the succeeding letters. ܡ and ܣ are occasionally written in

* ܐ is used in some manuscripts as initial, medial, or final. The same may be said of ܐ: but ܐ can only be used as a final letter, or at the end of a syllable; never as an initial letter. ܐ and ܐ are used indifferently according to the fancy of the writer. A. L. H.

connection with the next letter: ܗ with ܠ and ܐ; ܐ with ܠ, ܒ, ܒ, ܣ and ܐ.

ܒ, ܓ, ܕ, ܗ, ܟ, ܦ, are susceptible of aspiration as in the ancient language. A large point above the letter (daghesh lene of the Hebrew) which is often omitted, especially at the beginning of words, denotes that the letter is not aspirated in pronunciation. A similar point below shows that it is aspirated. It is to be noted, however, that ܟ, unaspirated, is written without any point. When aspirated, it is written ܟ.

NOTE.—It would not be an easy matter to lay down the rules by which these letters are aspirated in Modern Syriaç. Nor is it necessary to attempt it, as the aspiration is indicated in nearly every case by the point below the letter. Wherever one of these letters is unaspirated in a verbal root, it is unaspirated throughout the conjugation, and *vice versâ*.

ܒ, when aspirated, has nearly the sound of the English *w*, sometimes inclining to *v*, and can hardly be distinguished from ܐ. The latter must, however, be regarded as the weaker consonant. Cases will be mentioned farther on, in which ܒ coalesces with the preceding vowel and loses its power as a consonant.

ܓ, when aspirated, has the sound of *gh* (the Persian غ), and is perhaps more deeply guttural than ܓ, which seems to a beginner to resemble it.

ܓ has the sound of the English *j*. Until the last two or three years, we used it also to express *ch*. See ܕ.

The aspirated ܕ is not much, if at all, used in the province of Oroomiah. In the mountains of Koordistan, its proper sound is that of *th* in *these*, but it is said in one or two cases to have the sound of *th* in *thin*.

ܗ has a more decided and full pronunciation than the English *h*, without approaching in sound to ܚ (*hh*). The latter cannot be distinguished in pronunciation from ܟ. Their equivalent nearly is found in the German *ch* (*Bach*).

NOTE.—The Nestorians pronounce ܚ, ܦ, ܓ, etc., with much stress of voice, in consequence of which the sound of their language is at first unpleasant to an English ear. The Turkish of Northern Persia in this respect resembles the Syriac, and is very unlike the cultivated language of Constantinople. Whenever the Turkish is

referred to in the following pages, the reader will understand by it the rude Tatar dialect of this province, which has not even been reduced to writing, and is therefore noted in the Syriac character.

ܘ, used for connecting words and clauses (the Hebrew ו), is pronounced nearly like *oo* in *hood*, but with a more rapid enunciation.

ܙ or ܟ̣ is equivalent to *z* in *azure*, or *s* in *pleasure*. These characters are rarely used.

ܟ, unaspirated, has often the sound of *k* in *kind*, as pronounced by Walker, a *y* being quickly inserted after *k*.

ܟ̲ has the sound of *ch* in *cherry* and *rich*.

ܣ is sometimes pronounced like ܣܟ, when it precedes ܓ or ܩ, e. g. ܐܣܟܕܐ, *a store-room*; ܦܣܟܕ, *to stagger*; ܥܣܟܠ, *lazy*; ܘܣܟܕ, *to swagger*, etc. So in Persian. So in English in the words *imbitter*, *impatient*. ܣܟ is also occasionally written instead of ܣ, as ܐܣܟܠ, sound being regarded more than derivation.

ܠ, ܐ and ܕ, are readily confounded by a foreigner in certain connections, but are at once distinguished by a native. We may take as an illustration ܐܝܕܐ, *the hand*, and ܚܕܘܬܐ, *a feast*; or ܗܢܬܐ, *a fig*, and ܐܝܢܬܐ, *mud*. The difference in these words may seem slight, but, unless the ear is trained to make nice distinctions, a foreigner will be often misunderstood, even if he does not fall into ludicrous blunders.

ܦ has been used more or less to represent the *f* and *ph* of other languages, but, as the Nestorians pronounce this sound with difficulty, and it never occurs in words truly Syriac, we have for some years past dropped it in our books. ܦ coalesces with certain vowels, as hereafter stated.

ܩ.—When this letter is used, the syllable fills the mouth, as it were, more than when ܟ is used.

ܩ̣.—A very hard *k*, which can be represented by no analogy in English.

ܛ, when unaspirated, is equivalent to the English *t*. ܛ̣ is a harder *t*, and sounded farther back in the mouth. ܛ, if aspirated, has the sound of *th* in *thick*. This aspiration, so common in the ancient language, is quite lost on the plain of Oroomiah, but is retained in Koordistan.

VOWELS.

Names.	*Notation.*	*Power.*
ܦܬܚܐ P'tahha	◌	*a* in *hat.*
ܙܩܦܐ Zkapa	◌̇	*a* in *father.*
ܙܩܡܐ ܪܝܫܝܬܐ Zlama (long)	◌̈	between *e* in *elate* and *a* in *hate.*
ܙܩܡܐ ܫܦܝܠܬܐ Zlama (short)	◌̈	*i* in *pin.*
ܪܘܚܐ R'wâhha	◌	*o* in *note.*
ܪܘܨܐ R'wâsa	◌	*oo* in *poor.*
ܚܘܨܐ Hhwâsa	◌	*e* in *me.*

Note.—The names of ◌̈ and ◌̈ in Ancient Syriac grammars are just the reverse of those here given, but, as it seems more proper to call ◌̈ hard, the Nestorians follow the usage noted above.

P'tahha has generally the sound of short and close *a*. In the great majority of cases, when a consonant follows it (excepting ܠ, ܐ, ܕ, and cases specified on pp. 10, 11), which has a vowel of its own, that consonant is doubled in pronunciation, e. g. ܐܠܝܢ, *these;* ܟܐܦܐ, *a wave;* ܫܪܪܐ, *true;* where ܢ, ܟ and ܒ are each doubled.

Note 1.—There is no doubt that at least the Eastern Syrians formerly used the daghesh forte, though, as now, without any distinguishing mark. Compare Hoffman's Grammar of the Ancient Syriac, § 17, Annot. 1. Assemann states that in many cases ◌̇ is followed by a dagheshed letter, but this is not the usage now, except in ܒܥܕܝ and ܒܓܕ, and then with questionable propriety.

Note 2.—It is perhaps unnecessary to state that ܠ, ܐ and ܕ, are letters too weak to receive the daghesh. The usage is the same in the Hebrew. Unlike the Hebrew, however, the Modern Syriac may double ◌ and ◌̈, and does so constantly, e. g. ܚܣܟ, *to envy;* ܡܚܝ, *to make alive;* pronounced respectively *bahh-khul, măhh-hhee.* So too ܟܕܟ, *to wallow;* ܚܕܐ, *deaf;* pronounced *garril, karra.*

NOTE 3.—A few words, such as ܫܡܫܐ, ܢܗܪܐ, ܡܟܠܐ (the first syllable) and ܒܪܫܐ, derived from the ancient language, are exceptions to the above rule. The sound of ◌ܲ in these words is like that of ◌ܰ, and the following consonant is not doubled.

P'tahha is lengthened, when followed by ܐ, ܗ or ܥ, as in the second syllable of ܡܟܠܐ, where ◌ܲ is to be pronounced like ◌ܳ. So in ܢܗܪܐ, *light;* ܕܪܥܐ, *an arm;* ܥܒܕܐ, *a serf.*

Sometimes the sound of ◌ܲ in a mixed syllable, beside the cases hereafter specified, nearly approaches that of short *u*, e. g. ܐܬܪܐ, pronounced *ŭthra* or *ŭtra.*

Zkapa has properly the sound of *a* in *father,* but, in order to give uniformity to the spelling of like forms, occasional deviations have been made from this rule. Thus, we have ܐܬܐܣܝ, *I may heal;* ܐܗܘܐ, *I may be;* ܩܪܝ, *I may read* or *call,* although in the first ◌ܵ has nearly the sound of *e* in *met,* in the second, the sound of *a* in *father,* and in the third, the sound of *a* in *ball.*

NOTE 1.—It will thus be seen that the Nestorians have what Hoffman (§ 11, 3) properly calls the more elegant pronunciation of ◌ܵ. So far as we know, this vowel is never pronounced by them as long *o.*

NOTE 2.—It may here be remarked, once for all, that several serious difficulties are in the way of an orthography which shall perfectly represent the sound of each word. Many words, as, for instance, ܐܡܐ and ܫܡܐ, have a different sound from what they had formerly; and yet, for the sake of etymology, it is considered important to retain the original spelling. It is often a matter of much doubt how far we are permitted to go in defacing the escutcheon of words, and obliterating all traces of their ancestry. One who had not fully considered the subject, might often think we were arbitrary, where good reasons for a variation may be assigned; e. g. Anc. ܫܡܫܐ, ܫܡܫܐ, Modern ܫܡܫ, ܫܡܫ.

The difficulty is still greater in regard to words which have been transferred from other languages, the Turkish, the Persian, the Koordish, and the Arabic. Even if we were thoroughly acquainted with these languages, as we are not, the words derived from them in Modern Syriac are often completely disguised, and years pass before

we successfully trace out their origin. Others are more or less corrupted, though not properly made over; and still others retain very much of their original form and sound. In the latter case, we intend always to refer to the language from whence they came, to ascertain the true spelling.

The varieties in dialect present another obstacle not easily surmounted. As familiarity is acquired with the language spoken, in all the dialects, reasons are often found for changing orthography which was supposed to be definitely settled.

Long Zlama.—The sound of ◌̱ is not exactly that of long *e*, nor of long *a*, but something between these sounds, approaching a little nearer to that of *e* than of *a*.

Short Zlama.—This vowel, though generally *ĭ*, sometimes approaches in sound to *ĕ*. When followed by ܐ, its sound resembles ◌̣, e. g. ܫܡܥ, hear.

The same rule which has been mentioned for the doubling of a consonant after ◌̣, applies also to ◌̱. Thus in ܒܪܐ, *a bear*; ܦܣܐ, *a hoof*; ܬܢܢܐ, *smoke*; the ܒ, ܦ and ܣ, are respectively doubled in pronunciation. The fact that the daghesh must always, as in Hebrew, be preceded by a short vowel, needs no explanation.

It may be well to state, under this head, that ܕ, ܫ and ܟ occasionally admit of daghesh forte in the Ancient Syriac, after a short vowel, but not ܒ.

R'wâhha.—This is long *o*, but is often undistinguishable in pronunciation from ◌ܘ, which has the sound of *oo* in *poor*, but at times inclines also to the sound of long *o*. When ◌̤ precedes, ◌ܘ should follow; when ◌̣ precedes, ◌ܘ should follow.

Note 1.—As the Nestorians generally use ◌ܘ and ◌ܘ, especially in the neighborhood of Mosul, there is no doubt that the former corresponds to ו in Hebrew, and the latter to ו.

Note 2.—Unlike ו in Hebrew, ◌ܘ is so far an essential part of the vowel, that the latter cannot be written without it. The same remark may be made of ◌ܘ in *khwâsa*.

Note 3.—Hoffman, § 13, 4, speaks of these vowels as sometimes *ŭ*, but the Nestorians know no such usage. In the examples he adduces, ܫܟܚ, ܫܡܥ, ܐܦܢ, ܚܙ etc., the sound is as given above.

Hhwâsa.—This is in sound like a very long *e* in English. The ـ has sometimes belonging to it another vowel, in which case it performs the double office of a consonant (*y*) and a fulcrum for hhwâsa, e. g. ܚܝܠܐ, *thought,* pronounced *hhēyal;* ܕܝܢ, *of us,* pronounced *dēyan.* The word ܗܝ, in which the etymology is preserved, is sounded thus: *ĭt.* In the perfect participle feminine, 1st Class, we have, for example, ܟܕܝܟܬܐ, *braided,* pronounced as if written ܟܕܟܬܐ. And so of similar cases.

Note 1.—After ـ, ـ is silent. This mode of spelling, adopted from the ancient language, has been in a great measure dropped. Thus, we now write ܐܬܝܗ, *you may be,* for ܐܬܝܗܝ; ܚܙܝ, *you may see,* for ܚܙܝܝ, etc. But ܒܫܡܝܢ and some other words transferred from Ancient Syriac, retain their original form.

Note 2.—There is a sheva in common use, as in Hebrew, though without any distinctive mark. Sometimes there are two attached to two successive letters, e. g. ܒܠܒܟܘܢ, *that in his heart,* pronounced *d'b'libboo.* In a few cases the mark called in Ancient Syriac ܩܕܘܩ ܟܘܠܐ and placed above the line (Hoff. § 19, 1), has been used for this purpose, but it is now dropped, as it is of no practical use to ourselves or the natives. The ear soon becomes so trained that it instinctively gives the sheva where it is called for. No one who has spoken Syriac two months would think of pronouncing ܝܩܕܢܐ, fuel, *yakdana,* but, as a matter of course, *yek'dana.* So ܝܥܩܘܒ, *ya'cobh.* Compare the Hebrew יַעֲקֹב.

The sheva was no doubt employed by the Nestorians of old, though, so far as we can judge from the disposition of the vowels in the ancient language, with less frequency than in the modern. Those grammarians who, according to Hoffman (§ 15, Annot.), wish to class "inter absurdos" any who speak of a sheva in Ancient Syriac, should properly themselves be classed there.

MODIFICATION OF VOWEL-SOUNDS.

The letters ﻉ, ﺣ, ﺩ, ﻉ and ﻁ, and, to a considerable extent, also ﻫ, ﻣ and ﻩ, modify the sound of some of the vowels which are connected with them in the same syllable. The general tendency of these letters is to make the vowels joined with them somewhat like short *u*, though this is not the uniform effect. As it is essential to a correct pronunciation that this subject be understood, some examples will here be given to illustrate it. The sounds of course cannot be perfectly represented in English. Observe that ā=*a* in *hate*; â=*a* in *saw*; *a*, without a mark over it, =*a* in *father*; ă=*a* in *hat*; *ee*, at the end of words, = ـِ. In some cases ـِ may more properly be represented by simple *e*. ē=ـِ.

1. These letters with ـَ, ﺧَﻤْﺴِﻴ, *fifty*, pronounced *hhŭmshē*; ﺗُﺮْﺗُﻢ, *tŭrtŭm*, to murmur; ﻋِﻤَّﻦ, *ŭmmăn*, with us; ﻣَﺴْﺘَﺮ, *mŭstar*, a ruler for parallel lines; ﻧُﻜَّﺎ, *nŭkka*, a whale. Also with ﻣ and ﻩ: ﻣِﻤْﺘֵﻲ, *mŭmtē*, let them cause to reach; ﻣُﺮْﻳَﻢ, *Mŭryam*, Mary.

2. With ـُ, ﺗُﺪْﺭِﻱ, *hhŭdrit*, thou mayest walk about; ﺑُﻄْﻨَﺎ, *bŭtna*, she may conceive; ﻋُﻮَﺧْ, *ēwŭkh*, we are; ﻣُﺮْﻳَﺎ, *Mŭrya*, the Lord; ﻗُﺮْﻳَﺎﻧَﺎ, *kŭr'yana*, a reader.

These letters very often give ـُ the sound of *â*. Thus we have ﺣَﺎﻃِﻲ, *hhâtee*, he may sin; ﺗَﺎﺷِﻲ, *tâshee*, he may conceal; ﺃَﻟُﻮﻟَﺎ, *âloola*, a street; ﺳَﺎﻓِﻲ, *sâpee*, he may strain; ﻗَﺎﺭِﻱ, *kâree*, he may read; ﺭَﺍﻣَﺎ, *râma*, high.

3. With ـِ, no effect is generally produced.

4. With ـِ, the vowel sound is in most cases *ŭ*: ﺣَﺸْﻠֵﻲ, *hhŭshlē*, I went; ﭘَﺎﻟُﻂ, *pâlŭt*, he may go out; ﻋُﺴْﺮَﺍ, *ŭsra*, ten; ﻣُﺼْﺮَﻳﻢ, *Mŭsreen*, Egypt; ﻓְﻌُﺪْﻟִﻲ, *p'kŭdlee*, he com-

manded; ܩܡܠ, *rŭmlee*, he rose; ܛܘܡܡܐ, *toomŭmma*, completed. But ܐ following ◌̈, lengthens it into ◌̄.

5. ◌ and ◌ are affected rarely, if at all.

6. ◌ is in many cases unchanged. When, however, these letters are followed by ◌ or ◌ coalescing in the preceding vowel ◌̇ (see next section under ◌ ◌̇), the vowel-sound is not generally a simple one, as in other cases, but resembles the sound of *ei* in *height*, e. g. ܛܝܪܐ, *teira*, a bird; ܥܝܢܐ, *eina*, a fountain, an eye; ܩܝܣܐ, *keisa*, a tree. So with ◌: ܩܝܡܬܐ, *keimat*, a price; ܛܝܢܐ, *teina*, mud.

II FURTHER MODIFICATION OF SIMPLE VOWELS.

1. ◌ ◌̇.—P'tahha followed by ◌ has the sound of *ō*, e. g. ܙܘܢܐ, *zōna*, time; ܓܘܪܐ, *gōra*, a husband.

2. ◌ ◌̇.—P'tahha followed by ◌ does not often occur; never in our more recent books. But, wherever found, it has nearly the sound of *ō*, e. g. ܬܘܬܝܫܘ, *totishoon*, search ye, now written ܬܘܬܝܫܘ. See ◌ ◌̇.

3. ◌ ◌̇.—This has in general the sound of *ey* in *they*, e. g. ܐܝܟ, *eyga*, then; ܐܝܢ, *eynē*, which of the two; ܒܝܬ, *beyta*, a house; ܠܝܠܝ, *leylee*, the night; ܫܝܢܐ, *sheyna*, peace. Exceptions, for the sake of etymology, are ܐܝܟ, *where*, pronounced *ēka*; ܠܝܬ = *lĭt*, there is not; ◌ = *akh*, as. ܩܛܝܫܬ, *a capital city*, is pronounced nearly *peitahht*. Compare also what is said above of ◌, ◌, etc., followed by ◌.

4. ◌ ◌̣.—P'tahha followed by ◌ has a sound varying between *ow* in *now*, and *ō*, e. g. ◌, *b'nowshoo* or *b'nō-shoo*, by himself; ◌, *Nowtalē*, Naphtali.

5. ܒ ◌ܹ, ܐ ◌ܹ.—*Zkapa* before ܒ or ܐ has the sound of *ō*, and is not distinguishable in the modern from ܒ ◌ܼ, e. g. ܢܶܥܒܕ, *ō-dē*, they may do; ܢܶܥܒܰ, *ō-rē*, they may enter; ܝܘܣܦ, *Yōsip*, Joseph; ܗܘܳܐ, *hōya*, she may be; ܓܘܙܳܐ, *gōza*, a walnut; ܕܘܪܳܐ, *dōra*, a generation.

6. ܝ ◌ܹ.—Zkapa before ܝ has the sound of *ey* in *they*, and often does not differ from ܝ ◌ܼ, e. g. ܥܹܝܬܳܐ, *weyta*, being; ܩܪܝܬܳܐ, *kreyta*, reading. In such cases, ܝ may also have a vowel of its own, and be sounded like our *y*, e. g. ܟܣܝܝܬܝ, *k'seyyatee*, covers.

7. ܒ ◌ܺ, ܐ ◌ܺ, ܓ ◌ܺ.—Short zlama before ܒ, ܐ, or ܓ, has a sound nearly like that of *ew* in *Lewis*, e. g. ܕܒܫܳܐ, *honey*, not exactly *divsha* nor *doosha*; ܟܬܝܢܳܐ, *straw*, not *tivna* nor *toona*; ܝܡܬܳܐ, *the ocean*; ܩܘܪܢܳܝܳܐ, *a Cyrenian*; ܩܘܦܪܘܣ, *Cyprus*; ܚܝܬ, *quick*, etc.

8. ܝ ◌ܲ.—This has been alluded to in a preceding note. See under Hhwâsa.

9. ܓܐ.—If ܐ is followed by ܓ, the latter has either no effect on the syllable, or the sound is nearly that of *ui* in *ruin*, e. g. ܕܘܓܢܳܐ, *a winnowing fan*, pronounced *rooshta* (nearly).

It may be stated as a general rule, that ܫ, ܟ and ܕ, prefer the vowel ◌ܼ, as in the ancient language and the Hebrew.

SOME PECULIARITIES OF ܐ, ܘ, ܐ, ܝ AND ܟ.

ܐ.—It has already been mentioned that ܐ quiesces occasionally in ◌ܼ, and lengthens it. It quiesces far more frequently in ◌ܹ, as in the final syllable of ܪܒܳܐ, *great*, and a multitude of other words. ܐ may also quiesce in ◌ܺ, as in the

last syllable of plurals, and in ◌ֹ, ◌ֵ, ◌ֶ. ◌ When it follows the latter, it lengthens it into ◌ֵ. At times the ܐ in such cases falls out, as in the preterite of verbs of final ܐ, e. g. ܕܒܰܟ = ܕܒܳܟ, *I poured.*

When ܐ is preceded by a letter without a vowel, but has one of its own, it has a tendency to give its vowel-sound to the preceding letter, and rest in it; e. g. ܒܢܐ, to be pronounced not *b'ennee,* but *bennee.* So ܒܚܐ = *baha.* So in Hebrew (Nordheimer's Grammar, § 88, 3). Compare also in regard to ܐ, Hoff. § 31, 3.

ܗ.—In the suffix ◌ܗ◌ֹ, neither ܗ nor ◌ֹ is sounded. At the end of words ܗ is generally quiescent, as in the Hebrew; and we often feel at liberty, e. g. in words introduced from other languages, to substitute ܐ for it, as really a better representative of the sound. This may account for our writing the verb ܗܘ, ܗܝ, *he is, she is,* ܗܢ, ܗܝ, ܗܘ.

ܘ.—This may be, and is rarely, the initial letter of a verbal root. It is found often as the middle radical, and sometimes at the end. Take, for example, ܣ◌ֹܘܠ, *to wail;* ܬ◌ֹܒ, *to repent;* and ܢ◌ֵܟܚ, *to reprove;* in all which cases it retains its full consonant power. In ◌ֹܘ◌ֹܘ, which is thus written for etymology's sake, the final ܘ is not sounded, and the word is to be pronounced as if ◌ֹܘ◌ֹ.

◌ֹ.—This letter, when following ◌ֹ, does not flow into the vowel-sound, but has a sound of its own resembling short *e,* e. g. ◌ֹܓ◌ֵ◌ֹ, *a wall,* pronounced *gooĕda.* Compare Hoff. § 12, 1, and גלוי and similar words in Hebrew.

ܥ may in certain cases be treated as a quiescent, the Modern Syriac agreeing in this respect with the Ancient, though in such cases it affects the vowel-sound, e. g. ◌ֹܫ◌ֹܡ◌ֹܥ, *I heard.* Here, too, ܥ admits a vowel which ע cannot take in Hebrew. So ◌ֹ◌ֹ◌ֹ◌ֹ, *doing.*

Some letters are *otiant* in Modern Syriac, being generally, if not always, those retained for the sake of etymology, e. g. ◌ֹ in ◌ֹ◌ֹ◌ֹ◌ֹ, ◌ֹ◌ֹ◌ֹ◌ֹ, etc.

The representation given above of the sounds of the Syriac language differs from that often made in grammars of the Ancient Syriac, e. g. Hoff. § 12, 3. There is, however, reason to suppose that the Nestorians understand the pronunciation of their language better than it is possible for European scholars to understand it. The Ancient and the Modern Syriac are now pronounced nearly according to the same rules, and there has probably been no essential change in these rules, especially in Koordistan, for a thousand years.

TĂLKANA.

An oblique mark drawn over a letter, not under, as in the Jacobite Syriac, shows that a letter is not sounded, e. g. ܥ̈ܘܟ, pronounced *azin;* ܡ̈ܕܝܬܐ, pronounced *m'dēta.* Occasionally, other diacritical marks are used, as in the words ܡ̣, ܡ̇, which are explained in grammars of the ancient language.

ACCENT.

It is almost a universal rule, that the primary accent is on the penult, and the secondary accent on the pre-antepenult. So strong is the tendency in this direction that a beginner in English will come and ask for the *Pee-po'v-day,* meaning by this the little book called "*Peep of Day.*" It is, however, to be noted that, in the pronunciation of verbs, the auxiliary ܗܘ̈ is considered, in the subjunctive mood, an essential part of the word, though written separately. Thus, in ܢ̈ܐܬܐ ܗܘ̈, *he might come,* ܒ̈ܪܟ ܗܘ̈, *I might bless,* the accent is respectively on the syllables ܐ and ܟ. So too when the pronouns ܐ̈ܢܐ, etc., are suffixed, e. g. ܐ̈ܚܙ ܐ̈ܢܐ, *I will see;* ܐ̈ܚܕ ܠ̈, *if he seize him;* where the accent is respectively on the syllables ܐ and ܚܕ. Compare ܐ̈ܢܐ ܐ̈ܕܐ of Ancient Syriac, which takes the accent on ܐ̈ܕ. The auxiliaries ܗ̈ܘ, ܗ̈ܐ, etc., do not follow this rule, e. g. ܢ̈ܫܬܟܚ ܗ̈ܘ,

I am ashamed, has the accent on the syllable ـمَـ, as if ـمـ were not written.

PUNCTUATION.

Our system of punctuation is imperfect, compared with that of the English. The only characters we have introduced, which are not found in the Ancient Syriac (Hoff. § 23, 1), are the Greek semicolon inverted, as the sign of a question, the note of exclamation, and the parenthesis.

NESTORIAN MANUSCRIPTS.

Manuscript works among the Nestorians are sometimes very beautifully written, and the best type can never exceed, and perhaps not even rival, them in elegance.

ETYMOLOGY.

PRONOUNS.

1. *Separate Personal Pronouns.*

ܐܢܐ,	I (m. and f.).	ܚܢܢ or ܚܢܝ,	We.
ܐܢܬ or ܐܢܬ̈,	Thou (m.).	ܐܢܬܘܢ or ܐܢܬ̈ܝܢ,	You.
ܐܢܬ or ܐܢܬ̈,	Thou (f.).		
ܗܘ,	He, it.	ܗܢܘ,	They.
ܗܝ,	She, it.		

Note.—It will be observed that there is no distinction of gender in the second and third persons plural. Not so in the ancient language.

These personal pronouns, with the exception of ܗܘ, ܗܝ and ܗܢܘ, are not used in the objective case. And these, especially the first two, are generally accompanied by the noun to which they refer. Compare the usage in the Ancient Syriac with ܐܢܘܢ and ܐܢܝ (Hoff. § 41, 3), and in Hebrew (Nordh. § 859, † note).

Note.—ܗܘ and ܗܝ are sometimes spoken, both in the nominative and objective cases, as if written ܐܘܗ and ܐܝ.

2. *Demonstrative Pronouns.*

These are ܗܵܕܵܐ, *this* (m. and f.), ܗܘ, *that* (m.), ܗܝ, *that* (f.), ܐܢܘ, *these* (m. and f.), and ܗܢܘ, *those* (m. and f.).

Remarks.

1. It is probable that ܗܢ is a corruption of the ancient ܗܕܐ, ܗܕܝ, and ܗܢܐ of ܗܕܐ, ܗܕܝ. See, for the distinction made by the Maronites in these words, Hoff. § 41, Ann. 4. It will be remembered that some personal pronouns are also used for demonstratives in the ancient language.

2. In Tekhoma, the people say ܗܠܐ for *this*, and ܗܫܗܠܐ for *that*. On the plain of Oroomiah, the first of these is used for *that*, and the other for *that yonder*. In Bootan they say ܗܢܝ for *these*, and ܗܫܗܢܘ for *those*. Whenever Bootan is referred to, it may be be remembered that it is at the western extremity of Koordistan, and farther removed from us than any other district of the Nestorians.

The plural pronoun ܗܢ is also sometimes prolonged in Koordistan, by the addition of ܗܫ, ܗܫ, or ܗܫ, into ܗܢܫ ܗܢܫ or ܗܢܫ, without a change of signification. ܗܢܫ is heard at times in Oroomiah.

There seems to be a natural tendency in language to make demonstratives as emphatic as possible. Compare in Anc. Syriac ܗܢܐ, in Hebrew הַזֶּה, ὁ αὐτός in Greek, *derselbe* in German, *cet homme là* in French, and *this 'ere*, *that 'ere* in vulgar English.

3. It is worthy of note, that the ancient feminine ܗܕܐ is sometimes heard corrupted into ܗܒ, and that too on the plain of Oroomiah. We also sometimes hear ܗܐ. Both ܗܒ and ܗܐ are used with masculine as well as feminine nouns. ܗܕܐ is also used in such expressions as ܗܠ ܗܕܐ, *it is so* (*it is this*); ܒܗܕܐ, *on account of this*, etc.

4. ܘ is pronounced sometimes with the sound of *ow* in *now*, and sometimes, and oftener, simply as long *o*. ܫ is pronounced sometimes with the sound of *ay* in *aye*, and oftener as *a* in *fate*. They have always, however, the sounds of ŏ and ă when used as demonstratives.

3. *Relatives.*

ܕ is the only relative, and is of both genders and numbers. So it is in the ancient language. The use of this relative in grammatical construction will be explained in the Syntax.

4. *Interrogatives.*

These are ܡܢ or ܡܢܘ, *who?* (m. and f.) (ancient ܡܢ); ܕܡܢܘ, *whose?* ܡܐܢܝ, *what?* ܐܝܢܐ, *which of the two?* (m. and f.) (ancient ܐܝܢܐ); and ܟܡܐ, *how much, or how many?* as in the ancient language.

Note 1.—In one part of the plain of Oroomiah, in Salmas, in Gawar, and perhaps other districts, ܡܢܘ is pronounced ܡܢܐ. ܡܐܢܝ is very generally contracted in vulgar usage into ܡܐܢ, ܡܐܡܐ or ܡܐ, especially when preceding a noun. ܐܝܢܐ ܡܢܘ, *which of them?* is vulgarly contracted into *iminey*. We hear also rarely ܐܝ (m. and f.) instead of ܐܝܢܐ; compare the ancient feminine form ܐܝ. In Bootan, for *which of the two*, they say ܐܝܢܘ, which is no doubt a contraction of ܐܝܢܐ ܡܢܘ.

Note 2.—ܡܢ in the ancient language is sometimes applied to things. See Luke 8 : 30, ܡܢ ܫܡܟ. So in the Hebrew מִי שְׁמֶךָ; but we find no such usage in Modern Syriac.

Note 3.—The ancient ܡܐ, *what*, is retained in the common idiom ܡܢ ܠܟ ܥܡܢ, *what to thee from us?* i. e. what have we to do with thee? Of course we may substitute any other suffixes. So too we have in daily use such expressions as ܡܢ ܒܝܬܐ ܠܝ, *what to me a house?* i. e. of what profit to me? ܡܢ ܥܒܕ ܠܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܥܢܐ, *what may be to us so many sheep?* In some parts of the mountains, ܡܢܘ is used to denote *what*, ܡܐܢܝ perhaps = ܡܢ ܐܝ.

5. *Indefinite and Distributive Pronouns.*

These are ܟܠ, *any one, every one* (vulgar ܟܠܐ, perhaps derived from ܟܠܐ); ܡܢ or ܟܠ ܡܢ, *any one, every one;* ܟܠ ܚܕ, *each one.* We often hear also ܟܠ ܕܡܢܘ, *whomever, or whatever, you please,* literally, any one that may.

Note.—It may be hardly necessary to state that ܟܠ, as in the kindred languages, is written defectively, and is to be pronounced *kool*.

6. *Suffix Pronouns*

These are few in number and simple in their form, and are in general the same for verbs, nouns and prepositions. The following is a list of them.

a. Personal Pronouns of the Objective Case.

ـِي	me.	ـَن, ـِن	us.
ـَك	thee (m.).		
ـِك	thee (f.).	ـَكُون	you.
ـَه, ـَوه	him.	ـُون, ـَون, ـَم	them.
ـَהּ, ـָהּ	her.	(ـֶהֹם, ـֶהֹן, ـֶהֹן)	

Remarks.

The suffixes ـُون and ـَון are confined to verbs. ـֶהֹן and ـֶהֹם are used only in Koordistan. ـֶהֹם is a common suffix in Bootan.

It will be seen that the suffix of the first person singular, having a vowel, must always be sounded, unlike the corresponding suffix of the ancient language. The modern differs from the ancient (Hoff. § 42, Annot. 1.) also in having verbal suffixes after the third person plural. Beside ـُון, ـَון, we have what is equivalent to a suffix in the forms given farther on, under the head of Verbs with Suffixes.

b. Possessive Pronouns.

These are the same in form with personal suffixes of the objective case. Thus, for example, with ـַבְּ *a house:*

My house	ـַבְּי	Our house	ـַבְּן, ـַבְּנ (less frequently.)
Thy house (m.)	ـַבְּך	Your house	ـַבְּכוֹן
Thy house (f.)	ـַבְּכ		
His house	ـַבְּה, ـַבְּוה	Their house	ـַבְּהוֹן
Her house	ـַבְּהּ		

In the same way the suffixes are applied to the plural, e. g. ܒܬܝ *my houses,* ܒܬܟ *thy houses,* etc. When the noun, as in this case, terminates in a vowel-sound, final ܐ is dropped, to prevent the hiatus which would otherwise occur in the pronunciation. When the noun terminates in a consonant, no change is made by its reception of the suffixes.

Note.—In our books we have often written ܗ as a noun-suffix for 3d pers. sing. masc., and ܗ̈ for 3d pers. sing. fem., e. g. ܒܝܬܗ *his house,* ܒܝܬ̈ܗ *her house.* We now substitute for these, in all nouns, ܘܗ and ܗ̈ , in accordance with Oroomiah usage. ܒܝܬܐ, ܒܝܬܢ, etc., retain the other suffixes. ܗ and ܘܗ are both used in Gawar; the first only in Tekhoma and Tiary. In Nochea and Tekhoma, we find only ܗ̈ ; but, on the other hand, this is not used at all in Gawar. In Tekhoma and Tiary, the suffix ܗܘܢ is the noun-suffix for 3d pers. plural. In Bootan, ܗܘܢ (m.) and ܗܝܢ (f.). We, however, employ now only ܘ as the noun-suffix of 3d pers. plural. We have also, in such expressions as ܒܪܢܫܐ ܒܪܢܫ, dropped the suffix which is employed both in Ancient Syriac and in Chaldee. (See Jahn's Grammar, § 28.) It is not in accordance with present usage, and we now substitute ܐ for the ܗ. The expression ܒܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ will be referred to in the Syntax.

Emphatic Possessive.

Sometimes the suffix, for the sake of emphasis, is separated from its noun by a preposition, e. g. ܐܒܐ ܕܝ *the father of me (and not of you),* ܐܒܐ ܕܝܟ *the father of thee,* etc.

Note 1.—Compare ܕܝܟ in Ancient Syriac. This form, which is always emphatical in the Modern, is by no means uniformly so in the Ancient Syriac. (Hoff. § 122, 6.)

Note 2.—Such forms as ܡܠܦܟܢ ܕܟ, John 4 : 34, ܒܟ ܕܝܟ, 2 Cor. 5 : 19, or ܩܠܐ ܕܩܪܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ, Matt. 3 : 1, cannot properly be admitted in the Modern Syriac. It may, how-

ever, be remarked here, once for all, that in the translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, and of the New Testament from the Ancient Syriac, idioms have been designedly more or less introduced which are not in accordance with vulgar usage.

7. *Reciprocal Personal Pronouns.*

ܟܘܢ	myself.	ܟܘܢܬܝ or ܟܘܢ	ourselves.
ܟܘܢܟ	thyself (m.).	ܟܘܢܟܘܢ or ܟܘܢܟܝ	yourselves.
ܟܘܢܟ	thyself (f.).		
ܟܘܢܗ	himself.	ܟܘܢܗܘܢ or ܟܘܢ	themselves.
ܟܘܢܗ	herself.		

The word ܟܘܢ *soul* (Persian جان), which is thus connected with the suffixes, corresponds nearly to *self* in English. It may indeed have two different significations in the same sentence; e. g. ܟܘܢ ܕܟܘܢ *my own soul,* ܟܘܢ ܕܟܘܢܟ *thy own soul,* etc.

ܦܘܪܣܘܢ is also used in connection with the suffixes, but with a different meaning. If we wish to express the ideas: "by myself," "by thyself," etc., ܦܘܪܣܘܢ receives the suffixes, and has the preposition ܒ prefixed. Thus, ܒܦܘܪܣܘܢ *by myself,* declined like ܟܘܢ above. Compare the use of ܦܘܪܣܘܢ and ܣܢܦܣܐ in the Ancient Syriac (Hoff. § 127, 1), נֶפֶשׁ and רוּחַ in Hebrew (Nordh. § 873), and נַפְשָׁא, etc. in Chaldee (Jahn § 15).

VERBS.

The roots of verbs in the Modern Syriac are in many cases identical with those of the corresponding verbs in the ancient language; but the terminations and inflexions, and the general scheme of conjugation, are different. Indeed, it is interesting to observe how the Modern Syriac, like the Modern Greek, and other languages, has broken up the original form of the verb, and employed new auxiliaries, both in the

active and passive voices. These changes will be discussed hereafter. It is sufficient to remark, here, that they have been so great that it is useless to keep up the old distinctions of פָּא, פָּנ, etc.; and that the object will be better accomplished by classifying the verbs as now used, without any reference to the scheme of the verb in the ancient language.

Without attempting a complete analysis of the modern verb, it is intended to give the paradigms of those classes and forms of verbs which commonly occur, both on the plain of Oroomiah and in the mountains of Koordistan.

As the verb in its simplest form is always found in the third person singular masculine of the future, this will be called the root or stem, and the other forms will be derived from it. For greater convenience, however, we shall begin with the present indicative, after giving the infinitive and participles.

The auxiliary and neuter verb, the verb of existence ܐܶܬܰܝ *to be,* is given below, inflected both positively and negatively.

INFINITIVE, ܐܶܬܰܝ, ܐܶܬܝܳܬܳܐ to be.

Present Participle, ܐܳܬܶܐ Being. *Perfect Participle,* ܐܺܝܬܶܝ, ܐܺܝܬܝ Having been.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

ܐܲܢܳܐ ܐܳܬܶܐ I am (m.).

ܐܲܢܳܐ ܐܳܬܳܐ I am (f.).

ܐܲܢܬ ܐܳܬܶܐ Thou art (m.).

ܐܲܢܬ ܐܳܬܳܐ Thou art (f.).

ܗܽܘ ܐܺܝܬܶܝ He is.

ܗܺܝ ܐܺܝܬܶܝ She is.

ܚܢܰܢ ܐܳܬܺܝܢ We are.

ܐܢܬܽܘܢ ܐܳܬܺܝܢ You are.

ܗܶܢܽܘܢ ܐܺܝܬܶܝ They are.

Present Tense, negatively.

ཞེ་ན་ཀ་ཡིན་ I am not (m.).

ཞེ་ན་ཀ་ཡོད་ I am not (f.).

ཁྱེད་ཀ་ཡིན་ Thou art not (m.).

ཁྱེད་ཀ་ཡོད་ Thou art not (f.).

ཁོ་ཀ་ཡིན་ He is not.

ཁོ་ཚོ་ཀ་ཡིན་ She is not.

ང་ཚོ་ཀ་ཡིན་ We are not.

ཁྱེད་རང་ཚོ་ཀ་ཡིན་ You are not.

ཁོང་ཚོ་ཀ་ཡིན་ They are not.

NOTE.—In these forms, ་ has a vowel (hhwâsa), whenever preceded by a consonant; when preceded by a vowel, it receives tălkana. ཡོད་ is an exception, as it is followed by ཀ་. Otherwise, the rule seems to be uñiversal.

When ་ has tălkana over it, it still comes in for its share in the pronunciation, changing the character of the vowel which precedes it. Thus, ཞེ་ན་ཡིན་ is pronounced as if written ཞེ་ནྱིན་, ཀཅདཔ་ཡིན་ as if ཀཅདཔྱིན་, etc., the ་ coalescing with the preceding ི. (See previous remarks on the sound of ་ ི.) The auxiliary ཡོད་ is sometimes written ཡོད་, and sometimes ཡྱོད་, and the same remarks apply to this ་ also.

In some mountain-districts, ནང་ is used for ན་, and in Bootan ཀ་, through all the conjugation of the verbs. Thus, ཀཅདཔ་ནང་ or ཀཅདཔ་ཀ་ *they are going out*; འོངས་ནང་ or འོངས་ཀ་ *they are coming*, etc.

Imperfect Tense.

ཞེ་ན་ཡིན་པ་ཡིན་ I was (m.).

ཞེ་ན་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ I was (f.).

ཁྱེད་ཡིན་པ་ཡིན་ Thou wast (m.).

ཁྱེད་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ Thou wast (f.).

ཁོ་ཡིན་པ་ཡིན་ He was.

ཁོ་ཚོ་ཡིན་པ་ཡིན་ She was.

ང་ཚོ་ཡིན་པ་ཡིན་ We were.

ཁྱེད་རང་ཚོ་ཡིན་པ་ཡིན་ You were.

ཁོང་ཚོ་ཡིན་པ་ཡིན་ They were.

Imperfect Tense, negatively.

ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܝܬ I was not (m.).

ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܝܬ I was not (f.).

ܐܢܚܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܝܢ We were not.

ܐܢܬ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܝܬ Thou wast not (m.).

ܐܢܬ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܝܬ Thou wast not (f.).

ܐܢܬܘܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܝܬ You were not.

ܗܘ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܝ He was not.

ܗܝ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܝ She was not.

ܐܢܢܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܝ They were not.

There is generally an elision in the pronunciation of this tense, which is so very prevalent that we can hardly call it a vulgarity. The final ܐ of the pronoun ܐܢܐ, in the first person singular, and the letters ܐܝܬ are not sounded. Thus, we have the pronunciation *anin wa, anan wa.* So when any other word which ends in a vowel precedes ܐܝܟ; for example, ܐܢܐ ܬܡܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܝܬ *I was there,* is pronounced *tâmin wa.* This elision is not confined to the first person singular. In the second person, the sound is *atit wa, atăt wa,* and in the first person plural *ăhhnănŭkh wa.*

Of the negative form, the first person singular is pronounced (*ana*) *leyin wa, leyan wa;* the second person, *leyit wa, leyăt wa;* and the first person plural, *leyŭkh wa.*

Preterite Tense.

ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ I was (m. and f.).

ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ Thou wast (m.).

ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ Thou wast (f.).

ܗܘ ܗܘܐ He was.

ܗܝ ܗܘܬ She was.

ܐܢܚܢ ܗܘܝܢ We were.

ܐܢܬܘܢ ܗܘܝܬ You were.

ܐܢܢܝܢ ܗܘ They were.

Preterite Tense, negatively.

The negative is formed by inserting ܠܐ (not ܠܝܬ) between the pronoun and the verb, in all the persons and in both numbers, e. g. ܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ *he was not.*

Note.—When ܗܘܐ is not used as an auxiliary, it has the signification *I became, I was born* (comp. γινομαι). A similar remark applies to the perfect and pluperfect tenses. ܗܘܐ, thus employed, is conjugated as a verb with final ܐ, having for its present, ܡܬܗܘܝܢ ܐܢܐ *I am becoming;* and for its imperfect, ܗܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܬܗܘܝܢ *I was becoming.*

Perfect Tense.

ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܢܐ	I have been (m.).	ܚܢܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܚܢܢ	We have been.
ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܢܐ	I have been (f.).		
ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܢܬ	Thou hast been (m.).	ܐܢܬܘܢ ܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ	You have been.
ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܢܬ	Thou hast been (f.).		
ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ	He has been.	ܗܢܘܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܗܢܘܢ	They have been.
ܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܗܝ	She has been.		

Perfect Tense, negatively.

ܠܐ is to be inserted before ܐܢܐ, and ܗܘܐ comes last in order. We thus have ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ. This is inflected regularly, except that there is some elision, which has been spoken of under the Imperfect Tense. Pronounce *leyin wēya,* etc.

Pluperfect Tense.

ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܗܘܐ	I had been (m.).	ܚܢܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܚܢܢ ܗܘܐ	We had been.
ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܗܘܐ	I had been (f.).		

ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܗܘܝܬ	Thou hadst been (m.).	
ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܗܘܝܬ	Thou hadst been (f.).	ܐܢܬܘܢ ܗܘܝܬܘ ܗܘܝܬ You had been.
ܗܘ ܗܘܝ ܗܘ	He had been.	
ܗܝ ܗܘܝ ܗܘ	She had been.	ܗܢܘܢ ܗܘܝ ܗܘ They had been.

Pluperfect Tense, negatively.

ܠܐ is to be inserted before ܟܕ, and ܗܘܝ ܗܘ to be placed last. We thus have ܠܐ ܟܕ ܗܘ ܗܘܝ. The direct form is to be pronounced *wēyin wa, wētan wa, wēyit wa, wētăt wa,* and the first person plural *wēyŭkh wa.* The negative form is to be pronounced *leyin wa wēya, leyan wa wētā,* etc.

Note.—In Tekhoma, the people say ܗܘ ܗܘ, which corresponds in form nearly to the ancient pluperfect; but they use it rather as an imperfect.

Future Tense.

ܐܢܐ ܒܬ ܟܬܒ	I shall be (m.).	
ܐܢܐ ܒܬ ܟܬܒ	I shall be (f.).	ܚܢܢ ܒܬ ܟܬܒ We shall be.
ܐܢܬ ܒܬ ܟܬܒ	Thou wilt be (m.).	
ܐܢܬ ܒܬ ܟܬܒ	Thou wilt be (f.).	ܐܢܬܘܢ ܒܬ ܟܬܒ You will be.
ܗܘ ܒܬ ܟܬܒ	He will be.	
ܗܝ ܒܬ ܟܬܒ	She will be.	ܗܢܘܢ ܒܬ ܟܬܒ They will be.

Future Tense, negatively.

This is ܠܐ ܒܬ ܟܬܒ, inflected as above in the different persons and in both numbers.

Note.—As this future in Syriac is rarely, if ever, used to express determination, but denotes only simple futurity, "shall" is employed to translate it in the first person, and "will" in the second and third. *I will be,* that is, *I am determined to be,* would be expressed by some intensive, as, e. g. ܐܢܐ ܒܬ ܟܬܒ.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

ܐܶܗܘܹܐ I may be (m.).
ܐܶܗܘܹܝ I may be (f.).
ܢܶܗܘܹܐ We may be.
ܬܶܗܘܹܐ Thou mayest be (m.).
ܬܶܗܘܹܝ Thou mayest be (f.).
ܬܶܗܘܹܘ You may be.
ܢܶܗܘܹܐ He may be.
ܢܶܗܘܹܝ She may be.
ܢܶܗܘܹܘ They may be.

NOTE 1.—The pronouns will hereafter be omitted before the different tenses, and in all the paradigms.

NOTE 2.—This tense with ܟ and ܕ is often very much clipped in pronunciation. Thus we hear ܢܶܗܘܹܐ ܟ, ܢܶܗܘܹܐ ܕ, ܢܶܗܘܹܝ ܟ, ܢܶܗܘܹܝ ܕ, etc.

Imperfect or *Pluperfect Tense.*

ܗܘܹܐ ܐܶܗܘܹܐ I might be *or* might have been (m.).
ܗܘܹܐ ܐܶܗܘܹܝ I might be, etc. (f.).
ܗܘܹܐ ܢܶܗܘܹܐ We might be, etc.
ܗܘܹܐ ܬܶܗܘܹܐ Thou mightest, etc. (m.).
ܗܘܹܐ ܬܶܗܘܹܝ Thou mightest, etc. (f.).
ܗܘܹܐ ܬܶܗܘܹܘ You might be, etc.
ܗܘܹܐ ܢܶܗܘܹܐ He might, etc.
ܗܘܹܐ ܢܶܗܘܹܝ She might, etc.
ܗܘܹܐ ܢܶܗܘܹܘ They might be, etc.

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

ܗܘܹܐ Be thou (m. and f.).
ܗܘܹܘ Be ye *or* you.

General Remarks.

The preceding verb not only may be an auxiliary to other verbs, but is sometimes an auxiliary to itself, e. g. in the imperfect, signi-

fying *I was becoming*—ܗܘܝܬ ܐܢܐ. So too in the expression ܐܠܘ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ *if he should not be*, or *if he had not been, born.*

It may be difficult to account for the precise form of ܐܢ, ܐܢܬ, etc. It seems, however, pretty clear that they are made up of ܐ, the principal letter in ܗܘܐ, the old verb of existence, or, better, of ܐ of the pronoun ܐܢܐ, which was used so much in the Anc. Syriac to express the idea of existence, having the tălkana on it (H. § 121, 2, c.), and fragments of the personal pronouns. See in this connection a very interesting statement of the relation of the corresponding pronoun הוּא to the corresponding verb הָיָה in Heb. (N. § 647), from which it seems certain that they had a common origin. It is not so easy to say whence comes the ܢ which precedes. In Bootan, they use for the second person plural present ܐܢܬܘܢ, which gives us a ܢ. It can hardly be doubted that ܐܢ and ܐܢܟ are really ܐܢܬ and ܐܢܬܝ. As to ܐܢ, it is probably a fragment of ܐܢܘܢ. Compare the ancient ܐܢܘܢ ܗܘܐ with the modern ܐܢ ܗܘ. The resemblance in sound is very striking, and the signification identical.

CLASSES OF VERBS.

There are two great classes of verbs in the Modern Syriac, which are always distinguished from each other by their mode of inflection, and sometimes by their general signification. Each class embraces several varieties. These varieties might indeed be designated as distinct classes; but it is thought best to enumerate only two classes, because the general resemblance to these leading forms is discoverable in all the other varieties.

Class I. Regular Verb.

The first and most numerous class of verbs has almost invariably but three radical letters, as ܦܩܩ, ܦܨܨ, ܣܒܒ, the verbs which respectively denote "to go out," "to finish," and "to support" or "prop." The peculiarity in the mode of conjugating runs through nearly all the tenses. Verbs of this class are usually, though by no means uniformly, intransitive.

Let us take as a model, ܦܨܚ, which signifies *to finish* (intransitive).

INFINITIVE, ܠܡܦܨܚ to finish.

Present Participle, ܡܦܨܚ Finishing. *Perf. Participle*, ܦܨܝܚ, ܦܨܝܚܐ Having finished.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

ܐܢܐ ܡܦܨܚ ܐܢܐ I am finishing (m.).	ܚܢܢ ܡܦܨܚܝܢ ܚܢܢ We are finishing.
ܐܢܐ ܡܦܨܚܐ ܐܢܐ I am finishing (f.).	
ܐܢܬ ܡܦܨܚ ܐܢܬ Thou art finishing (m.).	ܐܢܬܘܢ ܡܦܨܚܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ You are finishing.
ܐܢܬ ܡܦܨܚܐ ܐܢܬ Thou art finishing (f.).	
ܗܘ ܡܦܨܚ ܗܘ He is finishing.	ܗܢܘܢ ܡܦܨܚܝܢ ܗܢܘܢ They are finishing.
ܗܝ ܡܦܨܚ ܗܝ She is finishing.	

The present tense of this class is always formed by prefixing the present participle to the present tense of the verb of existence, in its several numbers and persons. The present participle is formed by prefixing short zlama with ܡ to the first radical, making zkapa the vowel of the second radical and also of the third, and adding the quiescent ܝ to the third radical.

The present tense of any other regular verb of this class may be formed by precisely the same process.

Note 1.—If the first radical be ܡ or ܒ, the sound of the preformative ܡ in the present participle is scarcely heard, though always written, and in vulgar pronunciation it is entirely omitted. Indeed, in the rapid enunciation of the people, many other verbs, and especially those beginning with ܐ, drop this ܡ. Thus we have ܡܫܚܐ *anointing*, sounded *m'shahha*, ܡܟܟܐ *becoming meek*, sounded *m'kakha*, ܡܥܒܕ *doing*, sounded *wada*, etc.

Note 2.—This tense is often vulgarly contracted into *prakin*, *prakan*, etc., and the remark applies to any verb of this class.

Imperfect Tense.

ܟܬܒ ܐܢܐ ܗ̈ܘܝܬ	I was finishing (m.).
ܟܬܒ ܐܢܐ ܗ̈ܘܝܬ	I was finishing (f.).
ܟܬܒ ܐܢܬ ܗ̈ܘܝܬ	Thou wast finishing (m.).
ܟܬܒ ܐܢܬ ܗ̈ܘܝܬ	Thou wast finishing (f.).
ܟܬܒ ܗ̈ܘ	He was finishing.
ܟܬܒ ܗ̈ܘܬ	She was finishing.
ܟܬܒ ܐܢܚܢ ܗ̈ܘܝܢ	We were finishing.
ܟܬܒ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܗ̈ܘܝܬܘ	You were finishing.
ܟܬܒ ܗ̈ܘ	They were finishing.

From the present tense is formed the imperfect, by adding the auxiliary ܗ̈ܘܝ. In the third person singular, ܗ̈ܘ takes the place of ܐ, ܝ, instead of being added to them; and in the third person plural, ܗ̈ܘ takes the place of ܝܢ.

Note 1.—The elision spoken of in connection with the imperfect tense of the verb ܗ̈ܘ *to be*, takes place here also. Thus, the first person singular masculine is pronounced *biprakin wa*, or *prakin wa;* the first person feminine, *biprakan wa*, or *prakan wa;* the second person masculine, *biprakit wa*, or *prakit wa;* the second person feminine *biprakăt wa*, or *prakăt wa;* and the first person plural, *biprakŭkh wa*, or *prakŭkh wa.*

Note 2.—Instead of this form, we occasionally hear ܟܬܒ ܗ̈ܘ ܟܬܒ, in which case ܟܬܒ ܗ̈ܘ seems to be equivalent to ܗ̈ܘ ܟܬܒ. ܟܬܒ ܗ̈ܘ may be thus used with the present participle of many verbs, but it is not necessary to allude to it again as a regular tense.

Preterite Tense.

ܟܬܒ	I finished (m. and f.).
ܟܬܒ	Thou finishedst (m.).
ܟܬܒ	Thou finishedst (f.).
ܟܬܒ	He finished.
ܟܬܒ	She finished.
ܟܬܒ	We finished.
ܟܬܒ	You finished.
ܟܬܒ	They finished.

This tense has no preformative letter. A short zlama is inserted between the second and third radicals, and the following terminations are subjoined: ـكْ, 1 sing. m. and f.; ـكْمْ, 2 masc. sing.; ـكْجْ, 2 fem. sing.; ـكْ, 3 masc. sing.; ـكْ, 3 fem. sing.; ـكْ, 1 plural; ـكْمْجْ, 2 plural; ـكْ, 3 plural.

NOTE 1.—In Bootan, the third person plural (m. and f.) is ـكْكْ; and so in all verbs. This usage is not confined to that district. We also have sometimes ـكْكْ for ـكْمْ.

NOTE 2.—When the last radical is ـسْ or ـدْ, the terminal ـكْ is dropped. Thus, from ـسْ *to grind*, we find the preterite ـسْ, not ـسْكْ; from ـدْ *to saw*, we have the preterite ـدْ. When the final radical is ـكْ, this is not doubled in pronunciation. Thus, from ـكْ *to kill*, we have the preterite ـكْ. This rule applies to the preterite of all verbs of both classes.

Perfect Tense.

ـكْ	I have finished (m.).	ـكْمْ	We have finished.
ـكْ	I have finished (f.).		
ـكْ	Thou hast finished (m.).	ـكْمْ	You have finished.
ـكْ	Thou hast finished (f.).		
ـكْ	He has finished.	ـكْ	They have finished.
ـكْ	She has finished.		

This tense, like the present, is a compound tense, and is formed by prefixing the perfect participle to the present tense of the verb of existence, exactly as the present participle is prefixed to it to form the present tense.

The perfect participle, in all regular verbs of this class, is formed by inserting ـ after the second radical, and adding ـْ to the last radical, if masculine, or ـْهْ, if feminine. It will be noticed that the participle takes ـْ in the plural.

Pluperfect Tense.

ܩܛܠ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܢܐ	I had finished (m.).	ܩܛܠ ܗܘܝܢ ܚܢܢ	We had finished.
ܩܛܠ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܢܐ	I had finished (f.).		
ܩܛܠ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܢܬ	Thou hadst finished (m.).	ܩܛܠ ܗܘܝܬܘ ܐܢܬܘܢ	*You had finished.*
ܩܛܠ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܢܬ	Thou hadst finished (f.).		
ܩܛܠ ܗܘܐ	He had finished.	ܩܛܠ ܗܘܘ	They had finished.
ܩܛܠ ܗܘܬ	She had finished.		

This tense is formed by adding the auxiliary ܗܘܐ to the respective persons of the perfect tense; ܗܘܐ taking the place of ܟܐ and ܟܐ in the singular, and ܢܐ in the plural, as in the imperfect tense.

NOTE.—In pronunciation, the same elision is made as in the imperfect tense. Thus, we have *prēkin wa*, *prēktan wa*, etc.

Future Tense.

ܒܬ ܩܛܠ	I shall *or* will perish (m.).	ܒܬ ܩܛܠ	We, etc.
ܒܬ ܩܛܠ	I shall *or* will perish (f.).		
ܒܬ ܩܛܠ	Thou, etc. (m.).	ܒܬ ܩܛܠ	You, etc.
ܒܬ ܩܛܠ	Thou, etc. (f.).		
ܒܬ ܩܛܠ	He, etc.		
ܒܬ ܩܛܠ	She, etc.	ܒܬ ܩܛܠ	They, etc.

To form this tense in regular verbs of this class, zkapa is almost universally used with the first radical, and the second radical is included in the first syllable; but the third person singular masculine is an exception, as the first syllable in this case is a simple syllable, not including the second radical. The terminations subjoined to the third radical are ـ, 1 masc.; ـ, 1 fem.; ـ, 2 masc.; ـ, 2 fem.; the vowel ـ between the second and third radicals of 3 sing. masc.; ـ, 1 pl.; ـ, 2 pl.; and ـ, 3 plural.

NOTE 1.—In some parts of Oroomiah and Koordistan, ܐܢܐ is contracted to ܐ. Instead of ܢ, the termination ܝ is often vulgarly given to the first person plural, making it ܩܛܠܝ. Instead of the termination ܬܘܢ, we sometimes hear ܬܘܢ, making the second person plural ܩܛܠܬܘܢ. On the plain of Oroomiah, this person is in some villages pronounced ܩܛܠܬܘܡ, which is probably a contraction for ܩܛܠܬܘܢ.

NOTE 2.—Instead of the personal pronouns being prefixed to this tense, we occasionally find them suffixed, thus:

ܐܢܐ ܩܛܠ ܢ 1st sing. masc.
ܐܢܐ ܩܛܠ ܢ 1st sing. fem.
ܐܢܐ ܩܛܠ ܢ 2nd sing. masc.
ܐܢܐ ܩܛܠ ܢ 2nd sing. fem.

ܐܢܐ ܩܛܠ ܢ 1st plural.
ܐܢܐ ܩܛܠ ܢ 3rd plural.

We have rarely, if ever, written any of these forms, except for the first person singular. If ܢ, as has been assumed, is a fragment of ܗܢ *they*, it is often very improperly joined by the ignorant villagers to a verb in the singular, e. g. ܐܢܐ ܩܛܠ ܢ *he will finish.*

The pronouns may in the same manner follow other tenses besides the future. Thus, in the present, we hear ܩܛܠ ܢ ܐ *I am finishing*, ܩܛܠ ܢ ܐ *thou art finishing.* The accent coming before —, lengthens it. Pronounce *biprakeywéena.* The ܝ in ܐ gives the preceding — the sound of *ey.*

These remarks apply to all verbs. The similarity between the ancient and modern language in respect to these forms is worthy of notice. Thus, in the ancient, we have ܐܢܐ ܩܛܠ ܢ or ܐܢܐ ܩܛܠ ܢ, ܐܢܬ ܩܛܠ ܢ, ܐܢܬ ܩܛܠ ܢ, etc. The relationship, however, of the ancient to the modern language in the inflection of the verb will be discussed farther on.

Second Future Tense.

ܒܬ ܩܛܠ ܐܢܐ	I shall have finished (m.)	ܒܬ ܩܛܠ ܚܢܢ	1st plural.
ܒܬ ܩܛܠ ܐܢܐ	1st fem.		
ܒܬ ܩܛܠ ܐܢܬ	2nd masc.	ܒܬ ܩܛܠ ܐܢܬܘܢ	2nd plural.
ܒܬ ܩܛܠ ܐܢܬ	2nd fem.		
ܒܬ ܩܛܠ ܗܘ	3rd masc.	ܒܬ ܩܛܠ ܗܢܘ	3rd plural.
ܒܬ ܩܛܠ ܗܝ	3rd fem.		

This tense is formed in all verbs by prefixing the first future of the substantive verb to the perfect participle.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

The Modern Syriac verb, as used in dependent clauses, resembles sometimes the subjunctive of the Latin, French, or German, and sometimes that of the English grammarian Murray; but for the sake of greater brevity, not to say simplicity, these varieties will be considered together under the common title of Subjunctive Mood.

The verb assumes the same form in the present tense of this mood as in the future tense, the auxiliary ܒܬ being generally dropped and ܩܛܠ being added to form the imperfect tense.

Present Tense.

ܩܛܠ	I may finish (m.).	ܩܛܠ	1st plural.
ܩܛܠ	1st fem.		
ܩܛܠ	2nd masc.	ܩܛܠ	2nd plural.
ܩܛܠ	2nd fem.		
ܩܛܠ	3rd masc.	ܩܛܠ	3rd plural.
ܩܛܠ	3rd fem.		

Though this tense is properly used in dependent and hypothetical clauses, by prefixing ܕ or ܠ to it, it becomes a

generic present. The particle ܕܒ is used in Salmas and Oroomiah, while ܒ is the common prefix in Koordistan. We thus have ܕܒ ܦܨܡ *I am in the habit of finishing;* ܕܒ ܦܠܟ *I am in the habit of going out,* etc. This ܕܒ or ܒ is used with all the persons and in both numbers.

On the other hand, ܛܒ, derived from the ancient ܛܒܓ, prefixed to this tense makes it a preterite, equivalent to ܦܨܡܟ, e. g. ܛܒ ܦܨܡ *I finished.* This is but little used out of Oroomiah, and is used there for the sake of euphony, in cases where the regular preterite does not readily take the suffixes. Thus, ܛܒ ܣܒܪܢܝܗ *I suppose him,* would be preferred to ܣܒܪܟ ܠܗ.

When ܠܐ (not ܠܐ) is prefixed to this tense, it is also a generic present, or a future, the idea being expressed negatively, e. g. ܠܐ ܦܨܡ ܒܣܟܝ *I am not in the habit of finishing quickly,* or *I shall not finish quickly.* These statements apply to verbs of both classes and all varieties.

Note 1.—In telling a story we sometimes hear a native vulgarly use the form ܕܒ almost exclusively, as his "narrative tense." It seems then to have the force of our English present, "he goes," "he tells," "he does so and so," and to the mind of a Nestorian gives a sort of vividness to the story.

Note 2.—Before verbs whose first radical is ܠ or ܒ, ܕܒ has the sound of ܟ with a simple sheva, e. g. ܕܒ ܠܐܡ, pronounced *k'atin.*

Second Present.

ܐܢ ܒܦܨܡ I may be finishing (m.).

ܐܢ ܒܦܨܡ 1st plural.

ܐܢ ܒܦܨܡ 1st fem.

ܐܢ ܒܦܨܡ 2nd masc.

ܐܢ ܒܦܨܡ 2nd plural.

ܐܢ ܒܦܨܡ 2nd fem.

ܐܢ ܒܦܨܡ 3rd masc.

ܐܢ ܒܦܨܡ 3rd plural.

ܐܢ ܒܦܨܡ 3rd fem.

This tense is formed by prefixing the auxiliary, ﻣَﺼْ, ﻣَﺼَﺲْ, etc., to the present participle.

Imperfect Tense.

ﻣَﺼْ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻢْ I might finish (m.).
ﻣَﺼَﺲْ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻤَﺲْ 1st fem.
ﻣَﺼْ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻤْ 2nd masc.
ﻣَﺼَﺲْ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻤَﺲْ 2nd fem.
ﻣَﺼْ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻢْ 3rd masc.
ﻣَﺼَﺲْ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻤَﺲْ 3rd fem.

ﻣَﺼُﻮ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻤُﻮ 1st plural.
ﻣَﺼُﻮ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻤُﻮ 2nd plural.
ﻣَﺼُﻮ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻤُﻮ 3rd plural.

With ﺩَ or ﻟَ prefixed, this tense denotes a past action habitually performed, e. g. ﺩَ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻢْ ﻣَﺼْ ﻳَﻠْﺪِﻱ *he was in the habit of finishing quickly.* So too with ﻟَ, the idea being expressed negatively.

Perfect Tense.

ﻣَﺼْ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻠْ I may have finished (m.).
ﻣَﺼَﺲْ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻠَﺲْ 1st fem.
ﻣَﺼْ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻠْ 2nd masc.
ﻣَﺼَﺲْ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻠَﺲْ 2nd fem.
ﻣَﺼْ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻠْ 3rd masc.
ﻣَﺼَﺲْ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻠَﺲْ 3rd fem.

ﻣَﺼُﻮ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻠُﻮ 1st plural.
ﻣَﺼُﻮ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻠُﻮ 2nd plural.
ﻣَﺼُﻮ ﻗَﺬِﻳﻠُﻮ 3rd plural.

This is formed by prefixing the auxiliary, ﻣَﺼْ, etc. to the perfect participle.

Pluperfect Tense.

ܐܶܬ̈ܝ ܐܰܝ ܟܬ̈ܒ	I might have finished.	ܐܶܬ̈ܝ ܐܰܝ ܟܬ̈ܒ ܟ̈ܘ	1st plural.
ܐܶܬ̈ܝ ܐܰܝ ܟܬ̈ܒ ܝ	1st fem.		
ܐܶܬ̈ܝ ܐܰܝ ܟܬ̈ܒ ܐ	2nd masc.	ܐܶܬ̈ܝ ܐܰܝ ܟܬ̈ܒ ܘ̈	2nd plural.
ܐܶܬ̈ܝ ܐܰܝ ܟܬ̈ܒ ܝ	2nd fem.		
ܐܶܬ̈ܝ ܐܰܝ ܟܬ̈ܒ ܐ	3rd masc.	ܐܶܬ̈ܝ ܐܰܝ ܟܬ̈ܒ ܘ̈	3rd plural.
ܐܶܬ̈ܝ ܐܰܝ ܟܬ̈ܒ ܬ	3rd fem.		

This tense is formed by prefixing the auxiliary, ܐܰܝ ܐܶܬ̈ܝ, etc. to the perfect participle.

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

ܟܬ̈ܘܒ	Finish thou (masc.).	ܟܬ̈ܘܒ̈	Finish ye.
ܟܬ̈ܘܒ̈	Finish thou (fem.).		

The imperative is formed by inserting ◌ܘ between the second and third radicals, and giving the plural its appropriate termination.

Note 1.—Sometimes we have the following imperative: ܐܰܝ ܟܬ̈ܒ̈ *be finishing*, and the plural ܟܬ̈ܒ̈ ܐܰܝ ; but this is not common.

Note 2.—When the middle radical is ܙ, it is not ordinarily pronounced in the imperative; e. g. ܙ̈ܘܙ, pronounced *shook*. When the middle or final radical is ◌ܘ, to avoid the coming together of two ◌ܘ's, one is omitted in writing, e. g. the imperative of ܟ̈ܘܟ is ܟ̈ܘ; of ܢ̈ܚ it is ܢ̈ܚ, etc.

VERB WITH THE NEGATIVE PARTICLE ܠ̈ OR ܠ̈.

Only the first person singular of each tense will be given, as the other persons can be easily supplied by the learner. As every verb in the language makes its negative form pre-

cisely like ڪَذَمَ, the subject need not be alluded to hereafter.

ڪَ نَمِ ڪَذَمَا	I am not finishing.
ڪَ نَمِ هَمَا ڪَذَمَا	I was not finishing.
ڪَ ڪَذَمَ	I did not finish.
ڪَ نَمِ ڪَذِمَا	I have not finished.
ڪَ نَمِ هَمَا ڪَذِمَا	I had not finished.
ڪَ ڪَذَمِ	I shall not finish.
ڪَ مَ ڪَذَمِ	I did not finish.

NOTE 1.—For the pronunciation of the imperfect and pluperfect tenses, see previous remarks on the elision of ـه. Thus, the imperfect is pronounced *leyin wa bipraka*, and the pluperfect *leyin wa prēka.*

NOTE 2.—It will be noticed that the future, in taking the negative, drops its preformative ـه. Sometimes, however, ڪَ ـه ڪَذَمِ is used as an emphatic future, e. g. ڪَ ـه نَمِ ڪَ ـه ـه ڪَ ـه ـه *neither will I come, nor will I eat.*

NOTE 3.—The proper negative of مَ ڪَذَمِ is given above, but مَ ڪَ ڪَذَمِ is allowable.

NOTE 4.—The subjunctive takes ڪَ before its different tenses, which are not inverted. Vulgar usage sometimes employs ڪِ instead of ڪَ with the subjunctive.

NOTE 5.—Though the inversion of the present, imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect indicative, as a general rule, takes place only with the particle ڪَ, sometimes the inversion takes place without that particle. For example, ؟ڪَذَمَ نَمِ ڪَذَمَ *why are you going out?*

VERBS USED INTERROGATIVELY.

The verb (as in English and French) takes no new forms in an interrogative sentence; and the interrogation is known only by the inflection of the voice or the sign ؟ placed at the end of the sentence.

PASSIVE VOICE.

This will be most advantageously considered, after we finish the paradigms of the Active Voice.

VERBS OF THE FIRST CLASS CONJUGATED LIKE قُدَّس.

It is to be understood that when a verb is marked "1 or 2," the verb is either of the first or second class, its signification remaining unchanged. On the other hand, "1 and 2" denotes that the verb is conjugated in both methods, but with a change of signification.

It is not to be presumed that all the regular verbs of the first class are given here, or that any of the following lists are complete. An effort has, however, been made to collect as many of the verbs in common use as possible.

Although one meaning is placed opposite to each verbal root, this is by no means a dictionary. Frequently a verb is used in four or five or more significations. Only one, or at the most two of these are noted down.

كَبُدَ to become lean.	كَدَوَ to dry (intr.).
كَبَدَ to thrive. 1 and 2.	كَدَرَ to kneel.
كَبَّدَ to be scattered. 1 and 2.	كَدَّسَ to lighten (flash).
كَوَّسَ to scatter (seed). 1 or 2.	كَبَكَ to be or become cooked. 1 and 2.
كَبَّكَ to be or become useless or idle. 1 and 2.	
كَبَّرَ to conceive.	كَبَكَ to fashion; mingle.
كَبَدَ to be pressed (with business).	كَبَدَ to marry.
كَبَّسَ to bruise, crush.	كَبَكَ to braid.
كَبَرَ to get well, be pleased. 1 and 2.	كَبَكَ to blaspheme. 1 or 2.
كَبَرَ to be defloured. 1 and 2.	كَبَدَ to stack up.
كَبَّرَ to diminish (intr.). 1 and 2.	كَبَكَ to move (intr.).

ܓܙܪ to circumcise.

ܓܚܟ to laugh. The present is generally ܒܓܚܟ ܥܒܕ.

ܓܟܒ to conquer.

ܓܠܦ to lose the bark. 1 and 2.

ܓܡܕ to full (cloth).

ܓܡܨ to grasp firmly, wring.

ܓܢܒ to steal.

ܓܢܨ to snatch.

ܓܢܙ to efface, scrape off.

ܓܢܙ to strip off (as leaves), be stripped off.

ܓܢܦ to slip.

ܓܢܩ to grind (in a hand-mill).

ܓܢܪ to shovel off, sweep away (as a river).

ܓܢܫ to slide.

ܓܪܟ to draw.

ܕܒܚ to sacrifice.

ܕܒܨ to seize or hold.

ܕܓܪ to lock, to bar.

ܕܘܫ to thresh.

ܕܚܠ to lie down, to sleep.

ܕܠܦ to leak (as a roof). 1 or 2.

ܕܡܝ to be seared. 1 and 2.

ܕܡܨ to touch.

ܕܢܓ to argue.

ܕܥ to buy.

ܕܨܐ to struggle (in fight).

ܕܟܐ to oppress.

ܕܫܐ to fill (to the brim).

ܕܫܚ to look sullen.

ܕܫܪ to sing.

ܕܬܐ to weave, knit.

ܗܕܘ to become ready. 1 and 2.

ܗܕܟ to scratch (as a board).

ܗܕܪ to scratch (with the nails).

ܗܘܕ to rise (as the sun).

ܙܒܢ to mix, confuse (tr. and intr.).

ܙܓܪ to confine, shut up.

ܙܕܐ to start (with fear).

ܙܕܪ to walk (around).

ܙܗܪ to become white.

ܙܠܦ to pound, to beat.

ܙܠܩ to milk.

ܙܠܪ to err.

ܙܡܪ to dream.

ܙܢܓ to change (intr.).

ܙܢܚ to squeeze; to escape. 1 and 2.

ܙܢܩ to lock; to set (as fruit).

ܙܥܪ to bear, to be patient.

ܫܕܝ to be or become sour.

ܫܕܐ to be or become rotten, to putrify.

ܫܕܦ to choke, drown, etc. (tr. and intr.).

ܫܗܝ to prohibit, keep back.

ܫܗܠ to wean.

ܫܗܦ to be deficient.

ܫܘܩ to embrace.

ܫܘܦ to dig.

ܫܝܦ to reap.

ܫܒܚ to honor, praise.

ܫܕܐ to spoil (intr.).

ܫܕܠ to expend. 1 or 2.

ܫܕܘ to arrange in order.

ܫܕܦ to scoop out.

ܫܕܪ to be singed. 1 and 2.

ܫܕܩ to grin.

ܫܕܪ to be or become sharp.

ܫܒܪ to think.

ܫܕܫ to be worthy.

ܫܕܐ to thresh, pound up.

ܫܗܡ to seal.

ܫܗܕ to be boastful.

ܫܚܩ to crush, break in pieces.

ܫܚܫ to grind.

ܫܐܠ to ask for.

ܫܒܥ to sink down. 1 and 2.

ܫܒܥ to dip (tr. and intr.).

ܫܕܦ to drive away.

ܫܕܩ to beat up (as eggs).

ܫܕܝ to grow fat.

ܫܕܐ to thrust in.

ܫܕܪ to migrate, remove from place to place.

ܫܗܐ to anoint, to paint (as eyes).

ܫܚܐ to be or become faint.

ܫܚܠ to seize by violence.

ܫܚܩ to split.

ܫܚܕ to be or become mature.

ܫܚܐ to sweep.

ܫܚܫ to prune (vines).

ܫܟܠ to fold. See ܫܟܠ.

ܫܟܚ to be or become hungry.

ܫܟܦ to deny (as one's religion).

ܫܟܪ to be or become angry.

ܫܟܘ to thrust through.

ܫܟܫ to climb.

ܫܟܐ to be evident.

ܫܛܪ to write.

ܫܛܐ to tie a knot.

ܟܲܒ̈ܲܫ to flash.

ܟܲܒ̈ܲܕ to put on (clothes).

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܪ to be fitting.

ܟܲܘ̈ܲܐ to beckon, wink, etc.

ܟܲܚ̈ܲܣ to lick.

ܟܲܦ̈ܲܫ to peck up (food); to embroider.

ܟܲܘ̈ܲܒ to mix (liquids).

ܟܲܚ̈ܲܫ to be found. 1 and 2.

ܟܲܟ̈ܲܟ to be or become meek.

ܟܲܠ̈ܲܟ to pluck.

ܟܲܕ̈ܲܪ to rub off skin, to be bald.

ܟܲܕ̈ܲܟ to be or become bitter.

ܟܲܕ̈ܲܪ to scour, to be polished.

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܚ to anoint.

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܛ to stretch out.

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܠ to tell a parable. 1 or 2.

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܫ to bark (as a dog).

ܟܲܟ̈ܲܐ to reprove.

ܟܲܕ̈ܲܐ to hew.

ܟܲܕ̈ܲܐ to vow.

ܟܲܗ̈ܲܠ to pine away.

ܟܲܐ̈ܲܕ to shy (as a horse).

ܟܲܐ̈ܲܕ to abstain from meat, etc.

ܟܲܣ̈ܲܟ to sift.

ܟܲܣ̈ܲܟ to be or become ashamed.

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܟ to drop (as water).

ܟܲܒ̈ܲܕ to keep.

ܟܲܚ̈ܲܕ to pull or root out.

ܟܲܗ̈ܲܕ to saw.

ܟܲܦ̈ܲܣ to blow (with the mouth).

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܟ to fall.

ܟܲܢ̈ܲܥ to shake (as clothes).

ܟܲܪ̈ܲܥ to plant.

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܚ to be slender or thin.

ܟܲܛ̈ܲܐ to peck.

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܟ to peck at.

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܕ to drive (a nail).

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܛ to paint. 1 or 2.

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܟ to skin.

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܟ to drain off (tr. and intr.).

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܛ to kiss.

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܕ to make an onset.

ܟܲܠ̈ܲܕ to fall (as leaves).

ܟܲܚ̈ܲܬ to trust.

ܟܲܓ̈ܲܕ to worship.

ܟܲܡ̈ܲܠ to fill up (tr. and intr.).

ܟܲܫ̈ܲܟ to be or become quiet.

ܦܫܛ to plunder.

ܦܣܩ to redden, blush.

ܦܨܚ to support, prop.

ܦܩܕ to need.

ܦܩܥ to rot.

ܦܩܪ to become empty. 1 and 2.

ܦܪܩ to wait.

ܦܫܩ to be or become weary of.

ܦܬܚ to be beautiful. 1 and 2.

ܦܬܚ to reproach.

ܦܬܓ to deny.

ܦܬܚ to bolt (as flour).

ܦܬܟ to scratch, trace.

ܦܬܩ to suck in.

ܦܬܪ to comb.

ܦܬܪ to undo, pull down.

ܨܒܕ to do.

ܨܒܪ to pass.

ܨܒܥ to spin.

ܨܒܪ See under ܩܒܪ, p. 63.

ܨܒܬ to be baptized.

ܨܒܬ to dwell.

ܨܒܬ to dig out.

ܨܒܬ to flee.

ܩܒܪ to reflect. 1 or 2.

ܩܒܫ to open out, become flat.

ܩܒܩ to be or become crooked.

ܩܒܫ to work. Present participle may be ܩܒܫܢܐ.

ܩܒܪ to go out. 1 and 2.

ܩܒܪ to be crooked, deceitful.

ܩܒܪ to fight.

ܩܒܫ to exult.

ܩܒܬ to command. 1 or 2.

ܩܒܬ to blossom.

ܩܕܚ to flee (as sleep).

ܩܕܚ to fly.

ܩܕܚ to tear, wear out.

ܩܕܚ to rub, use friction.

ܩܕܚ to burst out, to make burst.

ܩܕܪ to cut.

ܩܕܫ to spread, as wings (tr. and intr.).

ܩܕܪ to separate (tr. and intr.).

ܩܕܫ to rend. 1 or 2.

ܩܕܪ to stretch (out).

ܩܕܪ to be or become sorry. 1 or 2.

ܩܕܫ to be or become straight. 1 and 2.

ܩܕܚ to melt (intr.). 1 and 2.

ܩܠܣ to open.

ڤَهِك to wind (tr. and intr.).

ڒَڤ to scorch, as food (intr.).

ڒَمِك to squat.

ڒَذ to be or become mad.

ڒَذِك to string (as peppers).

ڤَحْك to receive. 1 or 2.

ڤَحِك to complain.

ڤَحِڤ to bury.

ڤَڤِس to joint together.

ڤَڤِد to be or become holy. 1 and 2.

ڤَمِه to put on (the outer garment).

ڤَمِك to kill.

ڤَمِك to gather (grapes).

ڤَلِث to turn aside.

ڤَلِك to lose the bark (as a tree). 1 and 2.

ڤَمِس to be crushed, to crush.

ڤَمِك to twist.

ڤَمِڤ to pinch.

ڤَمِه to be wrinkled or puckered.

ڤَهِك to fold. 1 or 2.

ڤَذِب to partake of the sacrament.

ڤَذِك to bite.

ڤَذِر to win; to overlay.

ڤَذِڒ to sweep, rake. 1 and 2.

ڤَڤِج to tremble.

ڤَڤِر to stone.

ڤَڤِم to be numb.

ڤَهِس to be broad.

ڤَسِك to run.

ڤَسِر to have mercy on. 1 or 2.

ڤَسِف to be far.

ڤَحِب to ride. Future sometimes ڤَه ڤَحِڤ.

ڤَڤِع to be or become soft.

ڤَهِف to kick, stamp.

ڤَمِڤ to dance.

ڤَمِر to delineate.

ڤَهِس to boil.

ڠَحِف to let, let go.

ڠَڤِد to confuse, to be confused.

ڠَهِڤ to leap.

ڠَس to be or become warm.

ڠَڤِس to spread out.

ڠَلِڤ to pluck.

ڠَلِس to strip off (as one's clothes). 1 and 2.

ڠَلِك to be dislocated. 1 and 2.

ڠَلِف to be parboiled. 1 and 2.

ڠَمِك to break.

ڠَڤِس to overflow (intr.). 1 and 2.

ܥܦܫ to be or become palsied.
ܥܦܝ to level. 1 or 2.
ܥܦܐ to be pleasing to.
ܥܨܒ to take.
ܥܩܘ to burst (as an egg). 1 and 2.
ܥܩܠ to sag down.
ܥܪܟ to partake. 1 or 2.
ܥܪܫ to eat out.
ܥܬܠ to transplant. 1 or 2.
ܥܬܡ to be or become silent.
ܦܓ to be or become numb.
ܦܕ to break.
ܦܣ to thrust.
ܦܚ to remember.
ܦܠ to fall down (as a wall).
ܦܟ to perish. 1 and 2.
ܦܟܐ to perish, be lost. 1 and 2.
ܦܣ to spill (intr.). 1 and 2.
ܦܩ to mould or be mouldy.
ܦܩܕ to meet.
ܦܩܚ to sneeze.
ܦܨܠ to weigh (tr.).
ܦܪܟ to be reformed. 1 and 2.
ܦܪܪ to crumb up.
ܦܫ to be mended. 1 and 2.
ܦܬܩ to be buttoned. 1 and 2.
ܩܠܨ to be or become thick.
ܩܡܛ to wither (intr.).
ܩܪܨ to press out (juice).

NOTE.—Some verbs of four radicals are included in the above list, as they are in every respect regular, except that the second radical takes ◌ in preference to ◌ (according to the analogy of the ancient language) in the present participle. Thus we have ܡܣܟܡܢ *dreaming*, ܡܩܡܛ *withering*, ܡܩܪܨ *pressing out*.

CLASS II. REGULAR VERB.

Verbs of the first class are very often intransitive. On the other hand, the majority of verbs of the second class are transitive. A number of verbs, which, when conjugated according to the first class, are intransitive, when conjugated according to the second class, become transitive. For ex-

ample, ܦܘܩ, if it conform to the preceding paradigm, denotes *to go out;* but if it conform to the following paradigm, *to bring out* or *to cause to come out.* The same is true of ܦܨܐ: when conjugated as a verb of the second class, it denotes *to finish*, in a transitive sense, or *to save.*

It is, however, to be remarked that a few verbs are used indifferently as verbs of the first or second class, without any change of signification. Thus ܦܩܕ, following either paradigm, is transitive, and means *to command.* More rarely a verb is intransitive in either conjugation, as ܢܙܠ *to leak*, which is properly of the first class, but used in some districts as if of the second class.

Verbs of the second class have regularly three radicals. A ܐ is prefixed to the root in all its inflections by the people of Tiary, Tekhoma, Nochea, and the western slopes of the Koordish mountains, but is not heard on the plain of Oroomiah. It has been for a number of years omitted in our books.

The rules for the formation of compound tenses being the same in all verbs, it is unnecessary to repeat them. The two conjugations do not differ in this respect, but in the form of the infinitive, the participles, the preterite, and the imperative.

To form the present participle from the root, the first radical takes ◌ܰ when the root has ◌ܰ, and ◌ܳ when the root has ◌ܳ. If ◌ܰ is the first vowel, ◌ܳ is inserted after the the second radical; and when ◌ܳ is the first vowel, ◌ܰ is inserted. The third radical takes ◌ܵ with final ܐ. We will again take ܦܨܐ as the model.

INFINITIVE ܡܦܨܳܐ *to save.*

Present Participle.	*Perfect Participle.*
ܦܳܨܶܐ saving.	ܦܨܺܝ, ܦܨܺܝܬ having saved.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

ܩܛܘܠ ܐܢܐ	I am saving (m.).	ܩܛܘܠ̈ ܚܢܢ	1st plural.
ܩܛܘܠ̈ ܐܢܐ	1st fem.		
ܩܛܘܠ ܐܢ̈	2nd masc.	ܩܛܘܠ̈ ܬܘܢ	2nd plural.
ܩܛܘܠ̈ ܐܢ̈	2nd fem.		
ܩܛܘܠ ܗܘ	3rd masc.	ܩܛܘܠ̈ ܢ	3rd plural.
ܩܛܘܠ̈ ܗܝ	3rd fem.		

Imperfect Tense.

ܩܛܘܠ ܐܢܐ ܗ̈ܘܝܬ	I was saving (m.).	ܩܛܘܠ̈ ܚܢܢ ܗ̈ܘ̈ܝܢ	1st plural.
ܩܛܘܠ̈ ܐܢܐ ܗ̈ܘ̈ܝܬ	I was saving (f.).		
ܩܛܘܠ ܐܢ̈ ܗ̈ܘ̈ܝܬ	2nd masc.	ܩܛܘܠ̈ ܬܘܢ ܗ̈ܘ̈ܝܬ	2nd plural.
ܩܛܘܠ̈ ܐܢ̈ ܗ̈ܘ̈ܝܬ	2nd fem.		
ܩܛܘܠ ܗ̈ܘ̈ܐ	3rd masc.	ܩܛܘܠ̈ ܗ̈ܘ̈ܝܢ	3rd plural.
ܩܛܘܠ̈ ܗ̈ܘ̈ܐ	3rd fem.		

The same elision takes place which has been repeatedly noticed. We are to pronounce *parookin wa,* etc. Notice this in the pluperfect.

Preterite Tense.

ܦܥܕܟ	I saved (m.).	ܦܥܕ̈ܟ	1st plural.
ܦܥܕ̈ܟ	2nd fem.		
ܦܥܕ̈ܟ̈	2nd masc.	ܦܥܕ̈ܟ̈	2nd plural.
ܦܥܕ̈ܟ̈	2nd fem.		
ܦܥܕ̈	3rd masc.	ܦܥܕ̈	3rd plural.
ܦܥܕ̈	3rd fem.		

This is formed like the corresponding tense in verbs of the first class, except that ◌ is inserted after the first radical.

Perfect Tense.

קְטַלְתִּי	I have saved(m.).	קְטַלְנוּ	1st plural.
קְטַלְתִּי	1st fem.		
קְטַלְתָּ	2nd masc.	קְטַלְתֶּם	2nd plural.
קְטַלְתְּ	2nd fem.		
קָטַל	3rd masc.	קָטְלוּ	3rd plural.
קָטְלָה	3rd fem.		

The perfect participle is formed by inserting ◌ֹ after the first radical, and giving the last radical the vowel ◌ַ with final ה.

Note.—In some cases, ◌ִ is inserted between the second and third radicals, as, for instance, חָסִיל *having envied.* This vowel always appears in the feminine participle.

When the root takes ◌ֶ instead of ◌ַ, the perfect participle, with scarcely an exception, takes this ◌ִ between the second and third radicals, and the same vowel appears also in the future; as אֶחְסַל *I will envy.* By inspecting the catalogue of verbs of this class, it will be seen that this usage is founded on the principles of euphony. For example, verbs whose second and third radicals are the same, take this vowel; and also verbs whose middle radical is ו. If it should be objected that נָחוֹם *to repent*, and similar verbs, with radical ו, have ◌ַ in the root and ◌ִ in the perfect participle, it may replied, that, although ◌ַ is written in accordance with the rules of the ancient language (Hoff. § 12, 1), the sound is that of ◌ֶ. Thus נָחֹם, נָחֵם.

Pluperfect Tense.

קְטַלְתִּי הָיָה	I had saved (m.).	קְטַלְנוּ הָיוּ	1st plural.
קְטַלְתִּי הָיְתָה	1st fem.		
קְטַלְתָּ הָיָה	2nd masc.	קְטַלְתֶּם הָיוּ	2nd plural.
קְטַלְתְּ הָיְתָה	2nd fem.		
קָטַל הָיָה	3rd masc.	קָטְלוּ הָיוּ	3rd plural.
קָטְלָה הָיְתָה	3rd fem.		

Future Tense.

אֶקְטֹל I will save (m.). נִקְטֹל 1st plural.

This is inflected like the corresponding tense of the first class. Those verbs, however, which have ֶ in the root, or ֵ in the perfect participle, have the same vowels here also; e. g. שָׁבַב *to return* (tr.), *cause to turn*, has its perfect participle מְשִׁיבָה, and its future אָשִׁיב.

Second Future Tense.

אֶקְטֹל I shall have saved (m.).
אֶקְטְלִי 1st fem.
תִּקְטֹל 2nd masc.
תִּקְטְלִי 2nd fem.
יִקְטֹל 3rd masc.
תִּקְטֹל 3rd fem.
נִקְטֹל 1st plur.
תִּקְטְלוּ 2nd plural.
יִקְטְלוּ 3d plur.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

אֶקְטֹל I may save (m.). נִקְטֹל 1st plural.

This is inflected like the corresponding tense of the first class, and takes ֶ, as well as ֵ, between the second and third radicals, whenever the future takes them.

Second Present Tense.

אֶקְטֹל I may be saving (m.).
אֶקְטְלִי 1st fem.
תִּקְטֹל 2nd masc.
תִּקְטְלִי 2nd fem.
יִקְטֹל 3rd masc.
תִּקְטֹל 3rd fem.
נִקְטֹל 1st plural.
תִּקְטְלוּ 2nd plural.
יִקְטְלוּ 3rd plural.

Imperfect Tense.

ܢܶܩܛܶܠ I might save (m.). ܢܶܩܛܶܠܘ 1st plural.

This is inflected like the corresponding tense of the first class. Like the present tense, its vowels depend on the vowels of the future, to which they always conform.

Perfect Tense.

ܩܛܶܠ ܐܢܳ I may have saved (m.).
ܩܛܶܠ ܐܢܳ 1st fem.
ܩܛܶܠ ܐܢܬ 2nd masc.
ܩܛܶܠ ܐܢܬܝ 2nd fem.
ܩܛܶܠ ܗܘ 3rd masc.
ܩܛܶܠ ܗܝ 3rd fem.

ܩܛܶܠ ܐܢܚܢܢ 1st plural.
ܩܛܶܠ ܐܢܬܘܢ 2nd plural.
ܩܛܶܠ ܗܢܘ 3rd plural.

Pluperfect Tense.

ܩܛܶܠ ܗܘܶܐ ܐܢܳ I might have saved (m.).
ܩܛܶܠ ܗܘܶܬ ܐܢܳ 1st fem.
ܩܛܶܠ ܗܘܶܐ ܐܢܬ 2nd masc.
ܩܛܶܠ ܗܘܶܬ ܐܢܬܝ 2nd fem.
ܩܛܶܠ ܗܘܶܐ ܗܘ 3rd masc.
ܩܛܶܠ ܗܘܶܬ ܗܝ 3rd fem.

ܩܛܶܠ ܗܘܶܐ ܐܢܚܢܢ 1st plural.
ܩܛܶܠ ܗܘܶܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ 2nd plural.
ܩܛܶܠ ܗܘܶܐ ܗܢܘ 3rd plural.

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

ܩܛܶܠ save thou (m.).
ܩܛܶܠ save thou (f.).
ܩܛܶܠܘ or ܩܛܶܠܘܢ save ye.

It is to be particularly noted that the verbs marked *i* in the following table make the plural imperative by simply adding ܘ to the singular. Thus, ܚܣܘ *envy ye*, ܚܘܫܘ

answer ye, etc. The second form given above, قُدُمُوهُ, may be used with other verbs, but is not so common, and is now omitted in our books. بَكَدَ forms its imperative plural thus: بَكَدُوهُ.

VERBS OF THE SECOND CLASS CONJUGATED LIKE قَدَسَ.

NOTE.—*r*, following a verb, shows that it conforms in every respect to قَدَسَ; *i*, that it takes –/– in the present participle, —/— in the perfect participle, etc. Verbs are not repeated in this table which are used as verbs of either class, without a change of signification, and which have been given already in the first table.

- دَبَدَ to cultivate. *r*
- دَبَرَ to scatter (tr.). *r*
- دَهَدَ to glean. *i*
- دَسَكَ to envy. *i*
- دَسَهَ to search. *r*
- دَهَكَ to render vain or idle. *r*
- دَهَمَ to heal. *r*
- دَهَدَ to deflour. *r*
- دَهَرَ to degrade (tr.). *r*
- دَهَهَ to ask a question. *r*
- دَهَنَ to bless. *r*
- دَهَكَ to cook. *r*
- دَهَدَ to do skilfully. *r*
- كَبَدَ to wrangle. *r*
- كَبَتَ to answer. *i*
- كَبَسَ to strip off bark.
- كَهَسَ to spy out. *i*
- كَدَتَ to tempt. *r*
- كَدَكَ to wallow. *i*
- كَدَرَ to be dizzy. *i*
- كَدَقَ to look. *r*
- وَبَدَ to support, nourish.
- وَبَكَ to lie. *r*
- وَمَكَ to sear. *r*
- وَبَكَ to provoke. *i*
- وَبَرَ to make ready. *r*
- وَهَدَ to help. *i*
- وَمَنَ to believe. *i*
- وَبَكَ to beget. *r*

ܙܒܢ to sell. *r*

ܙܘܓ to join. *i*

ܙܘܥ to disturb, be disturbed. *i*

ܙܘܙ to defile, or become defiled, with milk, etc., during fast. *i*

ܙܘܡ to prepare. *r*

ܚܒܒ to incite. *r*

ܚܒܪ to become cold. *r*

ܚܒܫ to ask after one's health. *r*

ܚܕܬ to renew. *i*

ܚܟܡ to rule. *r*

ܚܠܩ to wash. *i*

ܚܠܫ to be or make strong. *i*

ܚܠܨ to escape. *r*

ܚܡܓ to singe. *r*

ܚܡܕ to play. *r* and *i*

ܚܡܕ to indulge. *i*

ܚܡܪ to bury. *r*

ܚܡܫ to drive away. *r*

ܚܦܐ to hem; to brush up. *r*

ܚܦܝ to roll up. *r*

ܚܫܚ to carry (away). *r*
This root is also ܟܫܚ, ܟܫܟ, or ܟܫܫ.

ܟܒܫ to blot. *i*

ܟܕܐ to find time; to supply.

ܟܕܕ to return (tr.). *i*

ܟܣܝ to love. *i*

ܟܣܡ to heat (tr.). *i*

ܟܫܚ to find. *r*

ܟܬܡ to blacken (tr.). *i*

ܟܬܡ to cover, shut. *r*

ܟܬܦ to bow (tr.). *i*

ܟܬܬ to pay a debt. *i*

ܠܐܕ to teach. *r*

ܠܒܒ to smell. *i*

ܠܒܝ to nurse. *i*

ܠܒܫ to apply (attention). *i*

ܠܒܬ to cause to ascend. *r*

ܠܓܝ to cool (tr.). *i*

ܠܗܛ to burn (tr.). *r*

ܠܗܛ to raise. *i*

ܠܗܛ to chisel out. *i*

ܠܗܝ to cool (tr.). *i*

ܠܗܡ to cause to hit. *i*

ܠܘܛ to lift up. *r*

ܠܘܝ to kindle (tr.). *i*

ܠܘܩ to place. *r*

ܡܓܐ to raise (the dead). *r*

ܦܩܩ to empty (tr.). *r*

ܨܒܥ to ornament. *r*

ܨܒܛ to maim. *i*

ܬܗܬ to wonder. *r*

ܬܪܥ to vex or be vexed. *i*

ܦܬܚ to gape. *i*

ܦܨܚ to atone. *r*

ܦܩܚ to muse. *r*

ܦܩܥ to bring out. *r*

ܦܨܠ to cut out. *r*

ܦܬܟ to gaze at. *r*

ܦܬܚ to stretch out. *r*

ܦܫܩ to translate. *r*

ܦܥܠ to chew the cud, to digest. *r*

ܨܚܐ to be or become sober. *i*

ܨܪܦ to refine. *i*

ܩܕܡ to anticipate. *r*

ܩܕܫ to make holy. *r*

ܩܘܐ to promise. *i*

ܩܘܡ to happen. *i*

ܩܛܝ to look. *r*

ܩܠܦ to peel. *r*

ܩܪܒ to squeeze in. *i*

ܫܒܚ to glorify. *r*

ܫܒܥ to entice. *r*

ܫܓܐ to be or become foolish. *i*

ܫܕܪ to send. *r*

ܫܗܐ to long for. *i*

ܫܒܚ to praise. *r*

ܫܠܠ to strip, despoil. *r*

ܫܟܟ to be or become quiet. *i*

ܫܠܚ to dislocate. *r*

ܫܠܩ to parboil. *r*

ܫܡܫ to perform a burial service. *r*

ܫܠܡ to be or become peaceful. *i*

ܫܦܥ to make overflow. *r*

ܫܬܘ to be acquainted with.. *i*

ܫܬܦ, ܫܬܦ } to be partaker. *r* and *i*

ܬܒܐ to repent. *i*

ܬܒܕ to cause to perish. *r*

ܬܒܪ to destroy. *r*

ܬܡܡ to finish. *i*

ܬܓܫ to sigh. *r*

ܬܗܬ to prop. *r*

ܬܦܫ to spill. *r*

ܬܪܟ to abandon. *r*

ܬܪܥ to make. *r*

ܬܪܨ to button. *r*

A verb of four radicals may follow this paradigm, e. g. ڈمکم *to shed tears;* ء being regarded as a quiescent. A few of the above roots beginning with م are really causatives, a weak radical, as, for instance, ا in the case of مخك, having fallen out. The rules for the formation and conjugation of causatives will be considered hereafter.

IRREGULAR VERBS OF THE FIRST CLASS.

FIRST VARIETY. FIRST RADICAL ا. Root ڈكل *to eat.*

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

ڈنڭكل نمي I am eating (m.).
ڈنڭكل نمي 1st fem.
ڈنڭكل نمط 2nd masc.
ڈنڭكل نملى 2nd fem.
ڈنڭكل نكن 3rd masc.
ڈنڭكل نكن 3rd fem.

ڈنڭكل نمم 1st plural.
ڈنڭكل نكم 2nd plural.
ڈنڭكل نكن 3rd plural.

The only irregularity here is owing to the ا. This is heard but faintly, if at all, and the ـِـ is lengthened to ـٖـ.

Imperfect Tense.

ڈنڭكل نمي كمن I was eating (m.). ڈنڭكل نمم كمن We were eating.

Preterite Tense.

ڈكل I ate. ڈكل We ate.

Perfect Tense.

ڈكبكن نمي I have eaten. ڈكبكن نمم We have eaten.

The perfect participle, by the aid of which this tense is formed, is regular; but the first radical is silent, as well as in the preterite.

Future Tense.

The future tense is regular, and the imperative also, except that in the latter the א is not sounded. It is written אֲכֹל *eat thou,* אֲכֹלוּ *eat ye.*

NOTE.—It will be understood, both in regard to this and the following varieties, that those tenses which are not mentioned are perfectly regular.

LIST OF VERBS WITH INITIAL א.

אָמַר to enter.	אָכַל to go.	אָסַף to go up.
אָסַר to say.	אָסַר to bind.	אָצַת to cool (intr.).

The verbs אָמַר and אָסַר are entirely regular; i. e. they conform to the preceding paradigm. The same is true of אָכַל, except in the future, where כ is for the most part not sounded (see Hoff. § 27, 4, a), and in the imperative, which is אֱכֹל in the singular, and אִכְלוּ in the plural. Compare the imperative of the same verb in the ancient language, אֵכוֹל, אֵכֹל, etc. In the modern, we often hear אֱכֹל־נָא *go thou,* just as אֵכוֹל כָּא in the ancient, and לֵךְ־נָא in the Hebrew. This suffix is used with the imperative of but few verbs; e. g. שְׁלַח־נָא, שְׁמַע־נָא, אֱמֹר־נָא etc. The idiom will be referred to farther on, when the relation of the modern to the ancient verb is discussed.

Future Tense of אָכַל.

אֶכֹל I will go (m.).	
תֶּכֹלִי 1st fem.	אֹכַל 1st plural.
תֹּכַל 2nd masc.	
תֹּכְלִי 2nd fem.	תֹּכְלוּ 2nd plural.
יֹכַל 3rd masc.	
תֹּכַל 3rd fem.	יֹכְלוּ 3rd plural.

NOTE 1.—With a negative preceding, ܐ is not sounded in common conversation (e. g. ܠܐ ܐܘܟ), and three syllables are reduced to two.

NOTE 2.—In Bootan, we have the following form of the future, which is well worthy of a place in our grammar, as it throws light on the relation of the ancient to the modern language.

ܒܐ ܐܘܟ 1 sing. (m. and f.).	ܒܐ ܐܘܝܢ 1st plural.
ܒܐ ܐܘܟܘ 2nd masc.	
ܒܐ ܐܘܟܝ 2nd fem.	ܒܐ ܐܘܟܘܢ 2nd plural.
ܒܐ ܐܘ 3rd masc.	
ܒܐ ܐܘܟ 3rd fem.	ܒܐ ܐܘܟ 3rd plural.

NOTE 3.—On the plain of Oroomiah, the verb ܕܣܥ is generally used instead of ܐܙܠ in all the tenses of the indicative, except the future, and in the imperative. The present tense is ܕܣܥܐ ܐܢܐ (in some villages ܕܣܥܐ ܐܢܐ), the preterite ܣܥܟ, the perfect ܣܥܐ ܐܢܐ, and the imperative ܣܥ. This is no doubt the ancient ܕܣܥ *to crawl*, and, sometimes, *to move one's self*. We occasionally hear in the mountains the future ܒܐ ܕܣܥ. It would have been better to write the preterite ܕܣܥܟ, and the perf. part. ܕܣܥܐ, had the thing been originally understood. As to the dropping of ܕ, compare ܣܥܐ with the ancient ܣܩܐ, ܕܣܟ, and the corresponding words in Hebrew.

In regard to ܙܗܐ, ܙܚܟ, and ܙܥܐ, there is some question whether they should stand here, or be classed with the second variety. If we regard the usage on the plain of Oroomiah only, it would seem that they ought to be considered as verbs with medial ܐ. The present participle is almost always spoken in this province as if written ܙܚܐܐ, ܙܚܐܛ, and ܙܥܐܐ, i. e. like ܙܩܐܐ; and the futures are often ܒܐ ܙܚܐ, ܒܐ ܙܚܝ, ܒܐ ܙܥܐ, i. e. like

ܒܛ ܩܡ. On the other hand, the usage in Koordistan makes them regular verbs with initial ܐ, like ܐܟܠ. The ancient root of ܐܟܠ is also ܐܟܗ. We have therefore preferred to class them here. It should not be unnoticed that when ܒܛ ܫܦܐ, etc. are not used in Oroomiah as the futures of these verbs, we have instead ܒܛ ܢܫܦܐ, ܒܛ ܢܫܦ, etc.

SECOND VARIETY. MIDDLE RADICAL ܐ or ܗ.

The middle radical in this variety inclines sometimes to ܐ, and sometimes, especially in Koordistan, to the sound of ܗ. (See Hoff. § 33, 3, *b*.) Nordheimer is probably correct in saying (§ 397), in regard to such verbs, that the root properly consists of two strong immutable consonants, in which the fundamental idea of the verb is contained; and that between these a weak letter is inserted to complete the usual form. This falls out often, as will be seen hereafter, in the causative form, and always in the reduplicated form.

For the sake of uniformity the roots are now all written with medial ܐ.

Take for example ܩܐܡ *to remain.*

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

ܒܩܝܡ ܐܢܐ I am remaining (m.). ܒܩܝܡ ܚܢܢ We are remaining.

This is regular, if we consider ܗ the middle radical.

Preterite Tense.

ܩܡܬ I remained (m. and f.). ܩܡ We remained.

Whether the second radical here be called ܐ or ܗ, it is not at all sounded, and instead of ܩܡܬ or ܩܝܡܬ, we write ܩܡܬ.

Perfect Tense.

ܩܝܡ ܐܢܐ I have remained (m.). ܩܝܡ ܚܢܢ We have remained.

The participle, which would regularly be كَمِنٌ or كَوِنٌ, is contracted into كَمٌّ, the feminine of which is كَمِنَّةٌ.

Future Tense.

يَكْمِنُ I shall remain (m.).	يَكْمِنُونَ 1st plural.
تَكْمِنِينَ 1st fem.	
تَكْمِنُ 2nd masc.	تَكْمِنُونَ 2nd plural.
تَكْمِنِينَ 2nd fem.	
يَكُنْ 3rd masc.	يَكْمِنُونَ 3rd plural.
تَكْمِنُ 3rd fem.	

The vowel ـِـ here forms a diphthong with the following ـْ, excepting in the third singular masculine.

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

كُمْ remain thou.	كُمُوا remain ye.

Here the middle radical falls out, and we write as above, instead of كُومْ or كُمُمْ.

VERBS FOLLOWING THE ANALOGY OF كُنْ.

كُزْ to make water.	سُبْ to sew.
دُنْ to judge.	سُرْ to curry (a horse).
دُقْ to make fine or small.	سُخْ to be or become hot.
دُرْ to return.	سُكْ to bathe (of females).
دُسْ to tread.	سُرْ to look.
	سُرْ to venture.
وُرْ to increase.	دُعْ to invite.
وُرْ to swell.	

ܓܙܪ to scratch.

ܓܕܠ to measure.

ܓܚܡ to be or become black.

ܓܟܦ to bow.

ܓܠܐ to be alienated.

ܓܡܪ to be paid (an account).

ܓܢܒ to curse.

ܓܥܪ to blame.

ܓܪܫ to make dough.

ܓܨܐ to suck (the breast).

ܓܪܐ to die.

ܓܫܐ to rest.

ܓܬܐ to nod.

ܓܙܐ to sting, to bite.

ܓܒܪ to be or become old.

ܓܙܪ to ordain.

ܓܕܦ to weed.

ܓܨܪ to be or become narrow.

ܓܫܟ to be or become cool.

ܓܙܐ to lose the savor.

ܓܕܪ to dawn.

ܓܝܕ to hunt or fish.

ܓܝܬ to fast.

ܓܝܟ to drain off (intr.).

ܓܝܫ to listen to, to obey.

ܓܫܫ to fade (as grass).

ܓܩܡ to rise. (Imp. ܩܘܡ.)

ܓܪܥ to bruise or become bruised.

ܓܙܪ to chisel out.

ܓܠܐ to hit.

ܓܒܐ to be high, to rise.

ܓܙܐ to sprinkle.

ܓܨܐ to spit.

ܓܙܐ to go down (as a swelling).

ܓܟܟ to rub.

ܓܨܐ to long for.

ܓܕܐ to kindle.

ܓܙܐ to fasten (the eyes).

ܓܡܪ to finish (tr. and intr.).

ܓܕܐ to come to one's self.

ܓܕܐ is almost always on the plain of Oroomiah pronounced in the present as if written ܒܓܕܐ. In some districts it is regular.

בָּזַי *to be worth*, as spoken, is quite anomalous. The present participle is בָּזֵי; the preterite, בָּזַי; the perfect participle, בָּזוּי; the future, בְּזַי, בְּזֵי; the imperative, בְּזַי.

נָגַד has its future often, perhaps generally, irregular: בְּנֹגַד. In the third person singular masculine, it has בְּנֹגֵד. Its present participle is נֹגֵד.

נָגַשׁ has its present participle נוֹגֵשׁ, and, were it not for its etymology, might be classed with verbs with initial י. Its future is also sometimes בְּנֹגַשׁ.

VERBS WITH MEDIAL י.

Under this variety may properly come verbs with medial י. They differ somewhat, but not essentially, from the preceding. Take, for example, שָׂכַב *to thrust in*. The present participle is שֹׂכְבֵי (*a*) or שֹׂכֵב (*b*). The preterite is שָׂכַב; the future, יִשְׂכַּב; the imperative, שְׂכַב. Some of these verbs have two forms of the present participle, marked (*a* & *b*), some only one. In Koordistan, the future is not יִשְׂכַּב, but בְּשַׂכַּב.

Like שָׂכַב, inflect

זָעַף to sweat (*a* & *b*). חָצַב to hew (*a* & *b*). חָרַד to tremble (*b*).

טָעַם to taste (*a* & *b*). חָתַם to shut (*a*). עָרַר to rouse (*b*).

יָלַד to bear (*a* & *b*). כָּמַשׁ to masticate (*a* & *b*). שָׁעַל to cough (*a* & *b*).

כָּפַף to fold (*a*). מָרַט to darn (*a*). שָׁעַר to shake (tr. and intr.) (*b*).

THIRD VARIETY.

This variety is characterized by the transposition of י, which is sometimes the first and sometimes the second radical.

Example, ܟܬܒ *to learn.*

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

ܐܢܐ ܟܬܒ ܢܐ I am learning (m.). ܚܢܢ ܟܬܒ ܢܐ We are learning.

It will be seen that this tense is perfectly regular, except that ܢ becomes the second, instead of the first, radical.

Preterite Tense.

ܐܢܐ ܟܬܒ I learned (m.). ܚܢܢ ܟܬܒ We learned.

Here ܢ becomes again the first radical, and is silent.

Perfect Tense.

ܐܢܐ ܟܬܒ ܢܐ I have learned (m.).
ܐܢܐ ܟܬܒ ܢܐ I have learned (f.).
ܚܢܢ ܟܬܒ ܢܐ We have learned.

The only irregularity is that the first ܢ is not sounded.

Future Tense.

ܐܢܐ ܢܟܬܒ I shall learn (m.). ܚܢܢ ܢܟܬܒ We shall learn.

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

ܟܬܘܒ Learn thou. ܟܬܒܘ Learn ye.

It will be seen that the ܢ is not sounded here.

NOTE.—In some villages, and perhaps districts, the future is spoken like the future of verbs with medial ܐ or ܢ: thus, ܐܢܐ ܟܒܐ, etc. If this were generally the case, we should with propriety call this one of that class of verbs, its root being ܟܐܒ, its present participle, preterite, and perfect participle, being written like the corresponding forms of ܩܐܡ. Indeed, there is no special objection to writing them so now, and considering the future irregular, as generally spoken. We should then have the preterite ܟܒܟ, and the perfect participle ܟܒܐ. These remarks apply also to the verbs which follow.

ילד to bring forth (young). ארך to lengthen or be long.

אהב to hasten. ירש to inherit.

כבד to be distressed. ישב to sit.

יקד to burn.

FOURTH VARIETY. THIRD RADICAL ה.

Example, יָצָה *to pour.*

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

אֲנִי יוֹצֶה I am pouring (m.). אֲנַחְנוּ יוֹצִים We are pouring.

This tense is regular, with the exception that, two alephs coming together, as in יוֹצֵא, according to the analogy of the ancient language, ה is changed into י.

Preterite Tense.

יָצָקְתִּי I poured (m. and f.). יָצַקְנוּ We poured.

The radical ה, when it becomes a medial instead of a final letter, as in this tense, ought, according to the analogy of the ancient language (see Hoff., paradigm of מָצָא), to be changed into י. This, however, is not the case. The ה serves merely to lengthen the preceding ַ into ָ, and, being itself not heard, is not written. Thus, instead of יָצָקְתִּי, we have יָצַקְתִּי.

Perfect Tense.

אֲנִי יָצוּק I have poured (m.).

אֲנִי יְצוּקָה I have poured (f.).

אֲנַחְנוּ יְצוּקִים We have poured.

Instead of the regular perfect participle, which would be יְצוּקֵה, the first and second radicals take ֻ and form one syllable, the ה being changed into י, as in the present participle.

Future Tense.

אֶפְתַּח I will pour (m.).

תִּפְתְּחִי I will pour (f.).

נִפְתַּח We will pour.

The first syllable of this tense, in the masculine singular and the plural, is simple, not including the second radical; and the third radical ה is dropped, except in the third person singular masculine, יִפְתַּח, where it appears as the final letter. In the feminine, ה is changed into ת.

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

This is quite irregular, making פְּתַח the standard; but in the singular it is exactly like the ancient. In the singular, ה becomes ת; and in the plural, it is dropped:

פְּתַח Pour thou.

פִּתְחוּ Pour ye.

VERBS FOLLOWING THE ANALOGY OF יִפְתַּח.

As a number of these verbs are both of the first and second class, they are noted here just as in the table of regular verbs of the first class.

נָבָא to rave, talk wildly.

נָהָה to weep.

נָלָה to wear (out) (tr. and intr.).

נָנָה to build, to count.

נָצָה to create.

נָאַף to foam up. 1 and 2.

נָאַף to beg, be a beggar.

נָעָה { to be or become naked. 1 and 2.

נָפָה to lean (down).

נָקָא to vomit.

נָקַף to flow (out).

נָקָה { to be or become pure. 1 and 2.

נָמָה to resemble. 1 and 2.

נָשָׂה to become.

נָשָׂה to be pleasant to.

נָתַח to crack (as glass) (intr.).

נָתָה to commit adultery.

ﺷَﺠِﻞَ to rejoice.

ﺷَﻮِﻱَ to see.

ﺷَﻬِﻞَ to sin.

ﺷَﻜِﺮَ to be or become sweet.

ﺷَﻌِﺪَ to keep (intr.). 1 and 2.

ﺷَﺪَ to be supported (by).

ﺷَﻔَﻰ to incubate.

ﺷَﺪَّ to go to stool.

ﺷَﻮَﻯ to broil (intr.). 1 and 2.

ﺷَﻜَﺮَ to sleep.

ﺷَﺪَّ to drive (an animal).

ﺷَﻌَﺮَ to be or become hid. 1 and 2.

ﺷَﻮَﻯ to be seared. 1 and 2.

ﺷَﻜَﺮَ to stop.

ﺷَﻌَﺮَ to go out (as fire).

ﺷَﻮَﻯ to be or become covered. 1 and 2.

ﺷَﺪَّ to be or become short.

ﺷَﻔَﻰ to be or become covered. 1 and 2.

ﺷَﻬَﻞَ to lap up.

ﺷَﻔَﻰ to devour greedily.

ﺷَﻌَﺮَ to lap (reg.).

ﺷَﺪَّ to strike.

ﺷَﻬَﻞَ to arrive.

ﺷَﻜَﺮَ to fill (tr. and intr.).

ﺷَﺪَّ same as ﺷَﺪَّ, to count.

ﺷَﻌَﺮَ to wash (clothes).

ﺷَﻜِﺮَ to be able.

ﺷَﻌَﺮَ to wipe.

ﺷَﺠَﻞَ to leap.

ﺷَﻌَﺮَ to butt.

ﺷَﻌَﺮَ to forget.

ﺷَﻌَﺮَ to bathe.

ﺷَﻬَﻞَ to dart.

ﺷَﻌَﺮَ to be or become blind (reg.).

ﺷَﻌَﺮَ to hate.

ﺷَﻔَﻰ to dip out (as water). 1 and 2.

ﺷَﺪَّ to be or become bad.

ﺷَﻜِﺮَ to be difficult. 1 and 2.

ﺷَﺪَّ to rain. 1 and 2.

ﺷَﻜَﺮَ to search after.

ﺷَﻜَﺮَ to separate (intr.). 1 and 2.

ﺷَﻜِﺮَ to be delivered. 1 and 2.

ﺷَﺪَّ to burst out.

ﺷَﻌَﺮَ to be lukewarm.

ﺷَﻔَﻰ to be or become broad.

ירד to descend. 1 and 2.

יבש to be or become clean. 1 nad 2.

יגר to rend.

יגע to gather (tr. and intr.).

יגע to be or become hard.

יבש to parch (as corn) (intr.). 1 and 2.

יבש to scorch (intr.).

יגר to gain.

יגף to gripe.

יגר to break, to be broken (bread).

יגד to call, to read.

יגר to be or become thick or hard.

יגע to be or become weary.

יגד to be pleased with.

יגר to be or become drunk.

יגר to pour out, run out.

יגף to be or become loose. 1 and 2.

יגע to be like. 1 and 2.

יגע to be spread. 1 and 2.

יגע to sag.

יגב to be or become quiet.

יגע to faint. 1 and 2.

יגף to loose, become loose. 1 and 2.

יגר to drink.

יגב to suspend.

יגר to repeat. 1 and 2.

יגף to stick (intr.). 1 and 2.

יגד to be or become wet.

Notes on the Preceding List.

יגר is quite irregular, and, were it not for its derivation, might perhaps better be written יגד. The present participle is יגר; the preterite, יגר; the perfect participle, יגר; and the future, יגר, יגר.

יבש. The future feminine of this verb is either יגר or יגר. So יגע, יגע, יגב, יגע, יגע, יגע, and יגב, all of which have –/– in the root.

יגר. This is sometimes, though vulgarly, pronounced in the present יגר, and in the preterite יגר, as if from יגד

to suck. The future, or rather the present subjunctive, with ܕ preceding (ܕ); is generally pronounced *kăm sin.*

Those of the preceding verbs which have medial ܘ, make their perfect participle irregularly, as ܫܳܡ from ܫܡ, except ܫܡ, the peculiarities of which were noted in the first paradigm.

FIFTH VARIETY. THIRD RADICAL ܕ.

Root ܫܡܥ *to hear.*

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

ܫܡܥܢ ܐܢܐ I am hearing (m.). ܫܡܥܢ ܚܢܢ We are hearing.

The present participle is only irregular in this, that the third radical, being a quiescent, coalesces with the preceding vowel, and ـ is then inserted, which takes the final ـ. We, however, often hear ܫܡܥ, and the infinitive ܠܫܡܥ, which should not be considered a vulgarity, as it is nearer the ancient language than the ordinary form.

Preterite Tense.

ܫܡܥܬ I heard (m. and f.). ܫܡܥܢ We heard.

Perfect Tense.

ܫܡܥ ܐܢܐ I have heard (m.).

ܫܡܥܬ ܐܢܐ I have heard (f.).

ܫܡܥ ܚܢܢ We have heard.

The perfect participle takes — as the vowel of the first syllable, which includes the second radical. The ܥ is not sounded, and the last syllable is ـ.

Future Tense.

ܐܫܡܥ I shall hear (m.).

ܐܫܡܥ I shall hear (f.).

ܢܫܡܥ We shall hear.

The peculiarity of the future consists in this, that the second radical is pronounced as if doubled, the first ـْ belonging to the first syllable and the second to the second syllable. The ـْ affects the adjacent vowels, but is not sounded separately. This peculiarity is not found throughout Koordistan.

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

ـَمْعَكْ Hear thou. ـَمْعَكْمُو Hear ye.

Like ـَمْعَدْ, conjugate

ـَبْعَدْ to bore (a hole).	ـَبْعَدْ to bubble up.
ـَكْعَدْ to swallow.	ـَهْعَدْ to be satiated.
ـَكْمَدْ to assemble (intr.). 1 and 2.	ـَفْعَدْ to step, march.
ـَكْذَدْ to shave.	ـَفْعَدْ to crack (intr.).
ـَوْدَدْ to fear.	ـَفْذَدْ to recompense.
ـَوْذَدْ to sow.	ـَرْعَدْ to dye.
ـَسْعَدْ to ferment.	ـَشْعَدْ to break off (tr. and intr.).
ـَشْذَدْ to sink (intr.). 1 and 2.	
ـَحْذَدْ to be sick. Of four radicals, but regular, except in the foot.	ـَهْعَدْ to adhere to.
	ـَهْذَدْ to make a breach.

Notes on the Preceding List.

ـَوْدَدْ in the future feminine follows the paradigm of the fourth variety, thus: ـَحْا وْدِدْ, ـَحْا وْدِدْ. The masculine has not the peculiarity of sound of ـَمْعَدْ. All the preceding verbs except ـَكْعَدْ, and even this in some districts of Koordistan, may in the same way take ـ in the future feminine.

The perfect participles of ܢܩܛ and ܫܩܛ have sometimes been written ܡܢܩܛ and ܡܫܩܛ, to express more exactly the sound; but there is not sufficient reason for this deviation.

Some of these verbs with final ܟ are both of the first and second class, and some of the first class only, as noted above.

Verbs of the First Class Doubly Irregular.

One who has made himself familiar with regular verbs of the first class, and the different varieties already given, will have little difficulty in learning the conjugation of those verbs which are doubly irregular.

Some of these have both initial and final ܐ.

Root ܐܓܕ *to curdle.*

ܓܐܓܕ *Present Participle.* ܐܓܕ *Preterite.*

ܐܓܕ, ܐܓܕ *Perfect Participle.* ܢܐܓܕ / ܬܐܓܕ *Future.*

ܐܓܕ / ܐܓܕܘ *Imperative.*

The future is sometimes ܢܐ ܓܕ masc., ܬܐ ܓܕ fem.

ܐܬܐ *to come,* is inflected in the same way, except that the imperative is ܐܐ in the singular, and ܐܬܘ in the plural. We also occasionally hear ܐܐ ܠܘܬ for the imperative singular. The ancient language has the same imperative, the initial ܐ being dropped.

In Salmas, Gawar, and perhaps other districts, the root of this word is corrupted into ܐܓ: present participle ܓܓܐ, preterite ܐܟ, perfect participle ܓܐ or ܓܐ, imperative ܓܐ. In Tiary, ܫ is substituted for ܐ throughout the conjugation: we thus have ܓܫܓܐ, ܫܟ, etc. Indeed, the substitution of ܫ is not confined to this word: e. g. ܫܥܐ

a house, for ܒܝܬܐ. Moreover, in some places we hear ܒܐܝܬ as the perfect participle, which is quite as near as any form to the ancient.

Some verbs have initial ܥ and final ܐ.

Take for example ܥܕܐ *to swear.*

ܥܕܝܢ
or ܥܕܘܢ } *Present Participle.* ܥܕܝܬ *Preterite.*

ܥܕܐ, ܥܕܝܐ *Perfect Participle.* ܢܥܕ ܥܕ
ܢܥܕܐ } *Future.*

ܥܕ
ܥܕܘ } *Imperative.*

Thus conjugate ܥܓܐ *to lament,* and ܥܦܐ *to bake.* The present participle of the former is like the first form given, i. e. ܥܓܝܢ, that of the latter is like either the first or the second form, i. e. ܥܦܝܢ or ܥܦܘܢ. In some parts of Koordistan, ܥܕ and ܥܓ are the roots, instead of ܥܕܐ and ܥܓܐ. Compare ܥܓ and ܥܦ in the Ancient Syriac.

Somewhat different is the root ܝܕܥ to know.

ܝܕܥܝܢ *Present Participle.* ܝܕܥܬ *Preterite.*

ܝܕܥ, ܝܕܝܥ *Perfect Participle.* ܢܝܕܥ ܝܕܥ
ܢܝܕܥ } *Future.*

ܝܕܥ
ܝܕܥܘ } *Imperative.*

NOTE.—The ܥ of the future is pronounced as if double (see the future of ܥܕܐ), and in Oroomiah is almost hardened into ܟ. Many of the Nestorians lazily pronounce ܡܐ ܢܝܕܥ *what do I*

know, or *how do I know? mood-yân*, there being little, if any, difference, whether the speaker is a man or a woman. This tense is also habitually shortened in other connections by some of the people.

The verb ܫܰܒ *to live*, is perhaps more regular in the modern than in the ancient language (Hoff. §76, Ann. 1), but has some peculiarities. It is thus inflected:

ܚܰܝܳܐ *Present Participle.* ܫܒܰܩ *Preterite.*

ܫܒܺܝ, ܫܒܺܝܐ *Perfect Participle.* ܢܚ ܫܰܒ / ܢܚ ܫܽܒ *Future.*

ܫܒ / ܫܒܰܩ *Imperative.*

Like the preceding, inflect ܫܰܩ *to make a fence;* ܫܰܠ *to be set on edge* (as the teeth); the latter regular, except the -ʾ-.

The verb ܒܥܳܐ *to search after*, has been generally written in accordance with the usage in Koordistan, and is inflected as follows:

ܒܥܳܝܳܐ *Present Participle.* ܒܥܰܐ *Preterite.*

ܒܥܺܝ, ܒܥܺܝܐ *Perfect Participle.* ܢܚ ܒܥܶܐ / ܢܚ ܒܥܶܐ *Future.*

ܒܥܶܐ / ܒܥܰܐ *Imperative.*

This, however, is very unlike the usage in Oroomiah. As here spoken, it is an anomalous verb of the second class, and is thus inflected: present participle ܒܥܳܐ (or ܒܥܳܐ); preterite ܒܥܳܐ; perf. participle ܒܥܺܝ, ܒܥܺܝܐ; future ܢܚ ܒܥܶܐ, ܢܚ ܒܥܶܐ; imperative ܒܥܶܐ, ܒܥܰܐ.

There are a few verbs of four radicals, besides those enumerated with regular verbs, which in general conform to the verbs of the first class.

Take for example ܙܰܥܰܩ *to thirst.*

ܙܰܥܩܺ *Present Participle.* ܙܰܥܰܩ *Preterite.*

ܙܰܥܺܩ, ܙܰܥܺܝ *Perfect Participle.* ܢܬ ܙܰܥܰܩ / ܢܬ ܙܰܥܰܩ *Future.*

ܙܰܥܰܩ / ܙܰܥܰܩܘ *Imperative.*

Like ܙܰܥܰܩ, inflect ܟܰܫܰܠ *to flame.*

As another example take ܨܰܒܰܐ *to wish.*

ܨܰܒܝܢ *Present Participle.* ܨܒܐ *Preterite.*

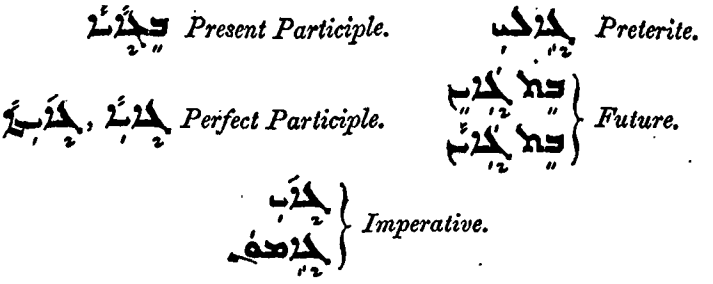
ܨܒܺܝ, ܨܰܒܺܝ *Perfect Participle.* ܢܬ ܨܒܐ / ܢܬ ܨܒܐ *Future.*

ܨܒܐ / ܨܒܘ *Imperative.*

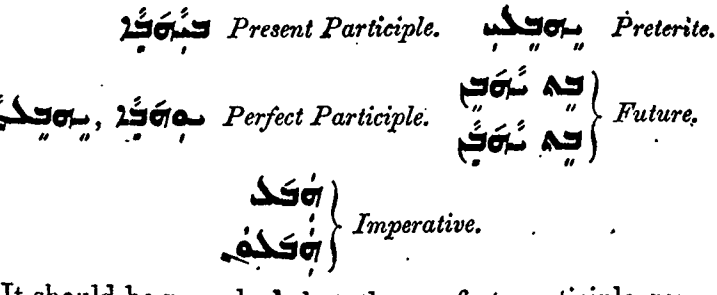
Thus inflect ܒܰܥܰܐ *to bleat,* ܚܰܠܰܩ *to become smooth,* ܡܰܚܰܐ *to churn,* ܪܰܥܰܐ *to graze,* and ܫܰܥܰܐ *to plaster.*

In regard to ܡܰܚܰܐ, it may be remarked that, while the present participle, as used in Koordistan, conforms to the preceding paradigm, on the plain of Oroomiah we generally hear it thus: ܡܰܚܰܝܢ.

As another example we may take ܥܰܠܰܐ *to be* or *become weary.*



The root ܢܬܠ *to give*, like its predecessor ܢܣܒ in the Ancient Syriac (Hoff. § 73, Ann. 4, and § 80), is singularly irregular. Being in constant use, it should, however, be made very familiar.



It should be remarked that the perfect participle resembles the perfect participles of the second class rather than those of the first, and the preterite is often pronounced as if written ܐܬܬܠ. In some districts the preterite is ܢܬܠ.

Irregular Verbs of the Second Class.

First Variety. Four Radicals.

Verbs of four radicals are far more common in the Modern Syriac than in the Ancient or the Hebrew. Many of these, however, are produced by a reduplication of biliteral or triliteral roots, and are exceedingly expressive. The idea is often that of repetition, as in ܦܣܦܣ *to bruise in pieces*, ܕܘܕܕ *to trample*, ܡܓܫܫ *to grope*, ܦܘܦܚ *to whirl*,

ﭘﭙﭚ *to creep*, and numerous others. Still oftener, perhaps, the idea is that of repeated sound, as in ﭘﭙﭚ *to roar with laughter*, ﭘﭙﭚ *to wail*, ﭘﭙﭚ *to snore*, ﭘﭙﭚ *to cluck*.

The second radical is included in the first syllable of the root, as well as of all its inflections.

As an example, take ﭘﭙﭚ *to speak*.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

ﭘﭙﭚ 1st masculine.
ﭘﭙﭚ 1st fem.
ﭘﭙﭚ 1st plural.
ﭘﭙﭚ 2nd masc.
ﭘﭙﭚ 2nd fem.
ﭘﭙﭚ 2nd plural.
ﭘﭙﭚ 3rd masc.
ﭘﭙﭚ 3rd fem.
ﭘﭙﭚ 3rd plural.

The present participle has ◌ִ◌ as the vowel of the first syllable, with its corresponding ◌ֹ in the second.

Preterite.

ﭘﭙﭚ I spoke.
ﭘﭙﭚ We spoke.

This differs from ﭘﭙﭚ only in having one consonant more in the first syllable, rendering it a mixed syllable.

Perfect.

ﭘﭙﭚ I have spoken (m.).
ﭘﭙﭚ I have spoken (f.).
ﭘﭙﭚ We have spoken.

Future.

ﭘﭙﭚ I shall speak (m.).
ﭘﭙﭚ We shall speak.

Imperative.

ﭘﭙﭚ Speak thou.
ﭘﭙﭚ Speak ye.

Like פָּעַל, inflect

בָּחַל to be bashful.

בָּזַז to become cheap.

בָּטַל to delay (tr. and intr.).

בָּלַל to creep.

בָּהַר to enlighten, to become light.

בָּקַע to prick.

בָּהַל to grow fat and be antic.

בָּלַל to confuse or be confused.

בָּלַט to twinkle.

בָּלַם to dazzle or be dazzled.

בָּעַט to crown.

בָּעַר to bubble up.

בָּזַר to scatter (tr. and intr.).

בָּאַר to roar.

בָּזַז to assail.

בָּשַׁל to stir up.

בָּלַט to make bud, to bud.

בָּלַל to tumble (tr. and intr.).

בָּלַם to hum, coo.

בָּלַע to abhor (with מִן).

בָּלַר to rust (tr. and intr.).

בָּלַל to torment or be tormented.

בָּלַע to foam up.

בָּגַד to be leprous.

בָּגַל to growl.

בָּגַר to grow.

בָּגַע to whiz.

בָּגַר to drag (tr.).

בָּדַל to enlarge or to be enlarged.

בָּדַל to make to wallow, to wallow.

בָּדַר to make to sing (as quinine does a sick man's head), to sing.

בָּגַד to be two-sided, ride the fence.

בָּגַר to make trot, to trot.

בָּדַל to thin out, become sparse.

בָּגַר to shelter, to find shelter.

בָּגַר to make or be bloody.

בָּדַל to make fine or small.

בָּגַע to wound or be wounded.

בָּגַר to make pine away or to pine away.

בָּגַר to rock (tr. and intr.).

בָּגַר to make a clatter (of words).

בָּגַר to apply (remedies).

בָּגַר to become late.

ܬܕܟܟ to demolish.

ܬܕܨܨ to neigh.

ܬܕܚܚ to laugh aloud.

ܬܘܘܘ to buzz.

ܬܘܟܟ to wail.

ܬܘܫ to whisper (as the wind).

ܬܘܬ to have a diarrhea.

ܬܘܗܗ to make whine, to whine.

ܬܘܒ { to make subject, become subject.

ܬܘܒ { to litter, be littered (as a room, a field, etc.).

ܬܘܪ to become pale.

ܬܘܙ to make tinkle, to tinkle.

ܬܘܟ to tear off, be torn off.

ܬܘܕ to ring (tr. and intr.).

ܬܘܓ to swagger.

ܬܘܦ to batter.

ܬܘܚ { to defile ceremonially or be defiled.

ܬܘܪ to make mighty, be mighty.

ܬܘܪ to make yellow, be yellow.

ܬܘܬ to bray.

ܫܘܒ to injure, become injured.

ܫܛܦ { to wash away, be washed away.

ܫܚܡ { to excite fever, have fever.

ܫܘ to strut.

ܫܗܗ to breathe hard.

ܫܟܟ to make faint, be faint.

ܫܕܕ to push.

ܫܕܩ to clasp.

ܫܕܦ to push.

ܫܕܟ to gnaw.

ܫܕܝ { to make to gnash, to gnash.

ܫܕܕ to snore.

ܫܥܩ to reckon.

ܫܥܥ { to make to rattle, to rattle.

ܫܟܟ to crush or be crushed.

ܫܟܢ to delay (tr. and intr.).

ܫܟܢ to hum.

ܫܟܟ { to flicker or make to flicker.

ܫܟܫܟ to murmur.

ܫܟܫܟ to move (tr. and intr.).

ܫܩ to make heavy, be heavy.

ܫܚܚ { to sputter, to make sputter.

ܫܚܚ { to shiver in pieces (tr. and intr.).

ܫܚܬ to arm, to be armed.

ܫܚܚ { to tear in pieces, be torn in pieces.

ܫܚܬ to throw.

ܦܰܪܛܰܚ to parboil, be parboiled.

ܦܰܫܟ to let down, to sink down.

ܦܰܫܚ to tear, be torn.

ܦܰܩܥ to chink (intr.).

ܦܰܩܥ to swing (tr. and intr.).

ܦܰܩܥ to roll (tr. and intr.).

ܦܰܩܫ to toss about.

ܦܰܩܫ to tingle (as the ear).

ܦܰܪܥ to tear (tr. and intr.).

ܦܰܩܚ to clap.

ܦܰܠܛ to defile, be defiled.

ܦܰܠܛ to rattle (in speech).

ܦܰܨܚ to scream.

ܦܰܨܚ to have mercy.

ܦܰܨܨ to giggle, gurgle, to make giggle or gurgle.

ܦܰܨܠ to wither (tr. and intr.).

ܦܰܩܥ to gather up.

ܦܰܪܥ to wrap in a vail, to wrap one's self in a vail.

ܦܰܪܥ to scare away.

ܦܰܬܚ to crack open (as the earth).

ܩܰܠܩ to make glitter, to glitter.

ܩܰܫܩ to snuff around.

ܩܰܛܪ to speak.

ܩܰܛܥ to make lame, be lame.

ܩܰܪܨ to gnaw.

ܩܰܛܠ to make appear, to appear.

ܩܰܛܡ to abstain from food.

ܩܰܫܩ to make glitter, to glitter.

ܩܰܪܩ to freeze (tr. and intr.).

ܩܰܠܥ to make sprout, to sprout.

ܩܰܢܣ to take a fine.

ܩܰܠܣ to mock.

ܩܰܫܩ to forbear, be reluctant.

ܩܰܚܚ to blister.

ܩܰܪܛ to borrow or lend on usury.

ܩܰܫܩ to be lazy.

ܩܰܪܙ to preach.

ܩܰܛܪ to make pant, to pant.

ܩܰܛܪ to hasten (tr. and intr.).

ܩܰܛܪ to constrain.

ܩܰܠܩ to make green, to green.

ܩܰܫܚ to make poor, be poor.

ܩܰܛܠ to rest (tr. and intr.).

ܩܰܛܪ to reprove.

ܩܰܒܥ to fix a price.

ܩܰܒܥ to build.

ܩܰܕܡ to give one a start (on a journey).

ܩܰܫܒ to listen.

to be or become hushed.

to cry.

to wrangle.

to cause chills, to have chills.

to make bold, be bold.

to defile.

to miscarry.

to arrange in order.

to sprinkle.

to growl.

to proclaim the gospel.

to make a Mohammedan or become one.

to grope (after).

to whistle.

to make to sob, to sob.

to groan.

to be a stranger.

to hesitate.

to reconcile, become reconciled.

to visit.

to come down (from father to son).

to make totter, to totter.

to stun, be stunned.

to scream.

to make cloudy, be cloudy.

to make wise, be wise.

to make wallow, to wallow.

to make ancient, be ancient.

to whisper.

to feel after.

to make stagger, to stagger.

to laugh out.

to lay waste, become waste.

to beseech.

to undo, destroy.

to whirl (tr. and intr.).

to crumb, be crumbed.

to make to escape, to escape.

to twist (tr. and intr.).

to whisper.

to gaze.

to pour or flow out.

to make to smart, to smart.

to sob from pain.

to cut up, to be cut up.

to make light, be light.

to cluck.

ܩܪܒ to cause to approach, to approach.

ܩܪܛ to wrinkle, be wrinkled.

ܩܪܨ to wrinkle, be wrinkled.

ܩܫܛ to buffet, be buffeted.

ܩܬܡ to make or be ready.

ܩܬܦ to caw.

ܩܬܨ to gather up

ܪܓܙ to venture (intr.).

ܪܥܥ to rattle (as rain).

ܙܚܠ to crawl.

ܙܘܚ to brood.

ܙܛܠ to make thin, be thin.

ܙܥܪ to tremble violently.

ܚܠܦ to alter (tr. and intr.).

ܚܠܩ to alter (tr. and intr.).

ܚܫܟ to blacken, become black.

ܚܫܚ to crush in pieces.

ܚܫܟ to soil, be soiled.

ܚܬܬ to shake about (tr. and intr.).

ܚܬܪ to make faint, be faint.

ܛܘܠ to sob.

ܛܘܪ to glide (as a snake).

ܛܟܣ to make smart, to smart.

ܛܠܛ to empty out.

ܛܪܩ to make to clatter, to clatter.

ܛܥܣ to make proud, be proud.

ܛܦܚ to make spout, to spout.

ܝܠܦ to guide.

ܝܦܚ to pant for breath.

ܝܩܪ to disciple.

ܝܪܡ to whine.

ܟܗܐ to make tardy, be tardy.

ܟܡܐ to make smoky, be smoky.

ܟܪܐ to sprinkle, be sprinkled.

ܠܚܛ to chastise.

ܠܦܩ to stamp the foot.

ܠܩܛ to search.

ܡܛܐ to make neatly.

ܡܪܛ to knock.

ܢܓܙ to besmear with tallow, be besmeared.

ܢܩܐ to trim a candle.

ܢܩܫ to make to stumble, to stumble.

ܢܩܥ to make pale, be pale.

ܢܫܐ to stitch together.

Notes on the Preceding List.

As ܩܪܒ has a tălkana over the ܪ, it may be considered as a verb of three radicals, following the paradigm of ܩܛܠ, second class.

ܦܘܪܟܢ and ܦܘܪܟܢܐ, though having five radicals, differ so little from the preceding model, that they need no special illustration.

ܐܬܟܠܡ may in some respects be considered as a verb of three radicals, having its perfect participle ܡܬܟܠܡ, and its future ܢܬܐܬܟܠܡ.

VERBS OF FOUR RADICALS WITH FINAL ܐ

Take for example ܦܘܪܡܐ *to understand.*

ܦܘܪܡܡ *Present Participle.*

In Koordistan, instead of the above, we have ܦܘܪܡܝ. As to the substitution of ܘ or ܝ for ܐ, see Hoff. § 33, 3.

ܦܘܪܡ *Preterite.*

The ܐ is here dropped, but lengthens ◌ܵ into ◌ܳ.

ܦܘܪܡ, ܦܘܪܡܐ *Perfect Participle.*

In this participle ܝ is substituted for ܐ, and takes, in addition to its own appropriate vowel, the vowel ◌ܶ.

ܢܬ ܦܘܪܡ
ܢܬ ܦܘܪܡܝ
Future.

Here the ܐ is dropped in the masculine singular and in the plural, but ܝ is substituted for it in the feminine singular, just as in the perfect participle.

ܦܘܪܡ
ܦܘܪܡܘ
Imperative.

NOTE.—This verb evidently has a relation to the ancient ܦܘܪܩ, but perhaps a still nearer relation to the Persian فهم. In Bootan we hear it thus: present participle, ܒܘܪܡܐ; preterite, ܦܘܪܡ; perfect participle, ܒܘܪܡ; future, ܢܗ ܦܘܪܡ; ܦ having the sound of *f*.

VERBS INFLECTED LIKE ڤُدَمْ.

ڤُكَدْ	to paw, dig into.	ڤُنَهْ	to show favor (with ڤِ).
ڤُكَدْ	to clean out, become clean.	ڤُهَكْ	to despise.
ڤُوَوْ	to howl.	ڤُهَهْ	to twitter, to peep.
ڤُكَدْ	to paw into.	ڤُكَدْ	to deceive.
ڤُدَدْ	to go round, surround.	ڤُدَوْ	to cut up.
ڤُكَدْ	to switch, be switched.	ڤُدَوْ	to rinse.
ڤُدَدْ	to bedaub, be bedaubed.	ڤُسِيْ	to search.
ڤُكَدْ	to howl; in Koordistan, to glitter.	ڤُدَكْ	to roll up or be rolled up.
ڤُسِنْ	to long after (with ڤِ).	ڤُدَصْ	to snap (tr. and intr.).
ڤُحَدَدْ	to plaster.	ڤُدَنْ	to fag out, tire out.
ڤُدَنْ	to forget.	ڤُهَدْ	to nourish, be nourished.

NOTE.—ڤُحَدَدْ, which is inserted in the above list, does not differ in pronunciation from the others, which end in ڢ instead of ڈ; but the ڈ is retained in writing out the different tenses.

When ڤ is the second radical, from a kind of necessity, one ڤ is dropped in the preterite and perfect participle. Thus, if we take ڤَمَنْ *to beseech*, the present participle is ڤَمَنَمْ; the preterite, ڤَمَكْ (instead of ڤَمَمَكْ); the perfect participle, ڤَمَنْ (for ڤَمَمَنْ); the future masculine, ڤَمَنْ; the future feminine, ڤَمَنْ. From what has been said in the Orthography, it will be evident why ـَـ is here used in the present participle, instead of ـَـ.

Like ڤَمَنْ, inflect

ڤَهَدْ	to chirp.	ڤَهَمْ	to cause to swear.
ڤَهَدْ	to acknowledge.	ڤَهَكْ	to mew.
ڤَوَوْ	to bleat.	ڤَيِيْ	to yelp.

CAUSATIVE VERBS.

We are now prepared to understand the formation of Causative Verbs. Some of the simple verbs of three radicals already given may be used in a causative sense, as ܬܩܦ *to strengthen,* or *to cause to become strong.* Verbs of four radicals have still oftener a causative signification; but the ordinary method of forming causatives is by prefixing ܐ to the three radical letters, and then considering the verb as one of four radicals, and inflecting it accordingly. Thus, ܦܩܥ, when of the first class, means *to go out;* when of the second class, *to put out* or *bring out;* and ܐܦܩܥ (which is inflected like ܐܫܬܘܕ), *to cause to come out.*

The verbs which thus form causatives are very numerous, and comprise the majority of those of three radicals in the preceding lists. The mode of formation is quite regular, with the exceptions hereafter to be specified; and the meaning bears in almost all cases a close relation to the meaning of the first root. A few causatives have been placed in the list of verbs conjugated like ܐܫܬܘܕ. These are either not used in Oroomiah at all in their simple form, as ܐܨܝܒ *to listen;* or the signification of the simple form is much changed, as ܐܦܩܕ *to accompany,* or, better, *to give a start to* (a traveller), from ܦܩܕ *to stretch out;* or the causative form, as generally used, is neuter: e. g. ܐܬܚܙܝ *to appear.*

Note.—ܐܬܬܩܝ was inserted in the list of verbs inflected like ܐܫܬܘܕ, with the idea that it was not properly a causative of any verb in the Modern Syriac. But it may be the causative of ܬܩܝ (a verb of the second class) *to squeeze in.* Compare ܬܩܩ in the Ancient Syriac, and קָרַץ in the Hebrew, *to tear asunder,* "to bite in malice."

When the last radical of the ground-form is ܐ, the causative verb follows the conjugation of ܦܬܚ instead of

ܫܩܛܠ. Thus, from ܒܟܐ *to weep*, we have ܐܒܟܝ *to cause to weep;* and so of a great number of others.

Verbs with final ܕ do not differ in the causative form from verbs with final ܐ, except that ܕ is retained in those tenses where ܐ is dropped, and slightly modifies the sound. Thus from ܦܩܕ we have ܐܦܩܕ, of which the present participle is ܡܦܩܕܢ; the preterite, ܐܦܩܕܬ; the perfect participle, ܐܦܩܕ; the future, ܢܬ ܐܦܩܕ (masculine), ܢܬ ܐܦܩܕܝ (feminine).

There has been perhaps an unnecessary irregularity in regard to verbs with initial ܐ. Thus, from ܐܟܠ and ܐܡܪ, we have ܐܟܝܠ and ܐܡܝܪ; while from ܐܫܬ, ܐܬܐ, and ܐܫܐ, we have ܐܫܬ, ܐܬܐ, and ܐܫܐ. As ܐ is heard very feebly, if at all, it is best, for the sake of uniformity, to drop it altogether, and treat these causatives as verbs of three radicals, second class. The other verbs with initial ܐ have no causative form. The future of ܐܡܪ, though spelled regularly, is often pronounced *mōrin.*

Verbs with medial ܐ of the first class sometimes drop the ܐ entirely, as ܫܡ from ܫܐܡ, in which case the causative is inflected like a verb of three radicals, second class. But it is far more common, at least in Oroomiah, for ܝ to be substituted for ܐ, throughout the conjugation: e. g. ܫܝܡ, of which the present participle is ܡܫܝܡ. Here the verb is regularly conformed to the paradigm of ܫܦܩ, and nothing more therefore need be said on the subject.

Verbs with medial ܕ retain the ܕ, and are conjugated like ܫܦܩ.

Verbs with initial ܝ, when used as causatives, are quite irregular. ܝܠܕ, ܝܬܒ, and ܝܗܒ, become respectively ܫܠܕ, ܫܬܒ, ܫܗܒ, and are conjugated like verbs of the

second class having three radicals. ܡܫܒ (*to place*), however, when it denotes *to cause to sit, to locate,* retains the ܝ transposed; thus, ܡܫܝܒ. ܝܬܒ becomes ܡܬܒ and will be noticed farther on. ܐܙܠ becomes ܡܙܠ or ܐܦܥܠ, the latter conforming nearly to the Ancient Syriac. See under ܦܥܠ. ܝܬܒ, ܝܟܠ, ܝܟܣ, ܝܕܥ, ܝܕܐ, transpose the ܝ and become respectively ܡܬܒ, ܡܟܠ, ܡܟܣ, ܡܕܥ and ܡܕܐ, and are regular in conjugation.

ܦܫܩ *to understand,* has for its causative ܡܦܫܩ, and is distinguishable from ܡܦܫܩ *to cause to cut,* only by a slight difference in pronunciation.

OTHER IRREGULAR VERBS OF THE SECOND CLASS.

VERBS WITH MEDIAL ܕ.

One of these, and perhaps more, is inflected as a verb of the second class, viz. ܝܚܕ *to revile.*

ܝܚܕ *Present Participle.* ܝܚܕ *Preterite.*

ܝܚܕ, ܝܚܕܐ *Perfect Participle.* ܢܚ ܝܚܕ, ܢܚ ܝܚܕ *Future.*

ܝܚܕ, ܝܚܕܘ *Imperative.*

The causative of ܝܚܕ is ܡܝܚܕ *to cause to revile.*

ܡܝܚܕ *Pres. Participle.* ܡܝܚܕ *Preterite.*

ܡܝܚܕ, ܡܝܚܕܐ *Perf. Participle.* ܢܚ ܡܝܚܕ, ܢܚ ܡܝܚܕ *Future.*

VERBS OF THREE RADICALS: THIRD RADICAL ܐ.

These are mostly inflected as verbs of the first class, but not all of them. As an example of the second class, we may take ܫܦܐ *to deliver.*

ܡܫܦܐ, *Present Participle.* ܫܦܝ *Preterite.*

ܫܦܝ, ܫܦܝܐ, *Perfect Participle.* ܢܫܦܐ / ܢܫܦܐ *Future.*

ܫܦܐ / ܫܦܘ *Imperative.*

In Koordistan the present participle is ܫܦܝ; and it is to be understood that in all verbs resembling this, ܝ is there substituted for ܘ.

Like ܫܦܐ, inflect

ܟܢܐ to select, collect.
ܓܠܐ to uncover.
ܙܟܐ to make pure.
ܙܡܐ to liken.
ܙܪܐ to winnow.
ܚܫܐ to meditate, to spell.
ܚܫܐ to narrate.
ܛܥܢ to keep (tr.).
ܛܥܢ to broil (tr.).
ܛܥܢ to conceal.
ܛܡܐ to sear.
ܟܣܐ to cover.
ܟܦܐ to cover.
ܟܫܐ to weary.
ܟܫܐ to make alive.
ܢܒܐ to prophesy.
ܥܩܐ to render difficult.
ܦܬܐ to patch.
ܦܠܓ to divide (tr.).
ܨܠܐ to deliver (from).
ܨܠܐ to pray.
ܨܪܐ to strain.

ܫܚܩ to parch (tr.).	ܫܕܪ to depart.
ܙܩܦ to throw.	ܫܪܝ to begin.
ܡܬܠ to liken.	ܐܡܪ to tell.
ܦܫܛ to spread.	ܐܠܨ to cause to adhere.

Notes on the Preceding List.

ܡܚܝ is a causative from ܚܝܐ *to become weary*. ܡܚܝ, a causative from ܚܝܐ *to live*, and ܡܠܐ are irregular by having ̣ in the perfect participle and the future feminine, thus: ܡܚܝܐ, ܡܚܝܬ, ܡܠܝܐ; and in the future, ܢܚ ܡܚܝ, ܢܚ ܡܚܝܢ, ܢܚ ܡܠܝ. If we do not distinguish between ܡܚܝ in the future and subjunctive and ܡܚܐ *to strike*, we shall be likely (in prayer, for instance), when intending to say "O Lord, revive (or quicken) me!" to say "O Lord, *strike* me!" ܙܩܦ in the perfect participle is often written as well as pronounced ܙܩܝܦ.

VERBS OF THREE RADICALS: THIRD RADICAL ܬ.

These verbs, when inflected as verbs of the second class, do not differ essentially from the paradigm of verbs with final ܐ. For example, ܟܢܫ *to assemble* (transitive).

ܟܢܫܢ *Present Participle.* ܟܢܫܟ *Preterite.*

ܟܢܫ, ܟܢܫܐ, ܟܢܫܬ *Perfect Participle.* ܢܟܢܫ or ܢܟܢܫܐ *Future.*

ܟܢܫ, ܟܢܫܘ *Imperative.*

It will be noticed that ܬ is retained throughout, and that the perfect participle and future feminine singular (in one form) take ◌ as the second vowel.

Like ܟܕܥ inflect ܡܟܕܥ, a causative from ܝܕܥ *to know;* ܡܟܕܥ *to make smooth;* ܡܪܥܐ *to pasture,* from ܪܥܐ *to graze;* and ܡܛܝܢ *to cause to plaster,* from ܛܝܢ *to plaster.*

The irregular verb ܡܙܓ *to curdle,* of the first class, has for its causative ܡܡܙܓ, and is thus inflected:

ܡܡܙܓ *Present Participle.* ܐܡܡܙܓ *Preterite.*

ܡܡܙܓ, ܡܡܙܓܐ *Perfect Participle.* ܢܗ ܢܡܙܓ / ܢܗ ܢܡܙܓ *Future.*

ܡܡܙܓ / ܡܡܙܓܘ *Imperative.*

So inflect ܡܡܦܐ from ܦܐ *to bake.* The verb ܡܓ *to swear,* besides the causative ܐܡܓ, already noticed, sometimes makes its causative in the same way. Thus we have ܡܡܓ, inflected like ܡܡܙܓ.

The anomalous verb ܡܐ *to cause to come, to bring,* which is doubtless derived from the ancient ܐܝܬ, may also be classed here. As used on the plain of Oroomiah, it is thus inflected:

ܡܝܬ *Present Participle.* ܐܝܬܝ *Preterite.*

ܡܝܬ, ܡܝܬܐ *Perfect Participle.* ܢܗ ܢܐ / ܢܗ ܢܐ *Future.*

ܐ / ܐܘ *Imperative.*

As used in Koordistan, its root is ܐܝܬ, which is evidently from the Afel form of the ancient verb (Hoff. § 78, 3). It is thus inflected:

ܡܫܠܚ (ܡܫܠܚܐ) *Present Participle.* ܐܫܠܚ *Preterite.*

ܡܫܠܝܚ, ܡܫܠܚ *Perfect Participle.* ܢܫܠܚ, ܬܫܠܚ *Future.*

ܫܠܚ, ܐܫܬܠܚ *Imperative.*

The irregular verb ܠܗܛ *to flame,* has ܐܫܠܗܛ for its causative, and is thus inflected:

ܡܫܠܗܛܢܐ *Pres. Participle.* ܐܫܠܗܛ *Preterite.*

ܡܫܠܗܛ, ܡܫܠܗܛܝ *Perfect Participle.* ܢܫܠܗܛ, ܬܫܠܗܛ *Future.*

ܫܠܗܛ, ܐܫܬܠܗܛ *Imperative.*

The irregular verb ܨܒܐ *to wish,* has ܐܫܨܒ for its causative.

ܡܫܨܒܢܐ *Present Participle.* ܐܫܨܒ *Preterite.*

ܡܫܨܒ, ܡܫܨܒܝ *Perfect Participle.* ܢܫܨܒ, ܬܫܨܒ *Future.*

ܫܨܒ, ܐܫܬܨܒ *Imperative.*

Note.—The verb of existence ܐܝܬ *there is,* ܠܝܬ *there is not,* is used in the Modern Syriac differently from the idiom of the Ancient. It will be referred to again in the Syntax.

The following table presents at one view nearly all the irregularities that have been noted in regard to verbs of both classes.

Root.	Pres. Participle.	Preterite.	Perfect Participle.		Future, 1st pers. masc. and fem.		Imperative.
1. קדם	קדמ	קדם	קדמ	קדמה	יקדם	תקדם	קדם
2. קדם	קדמה	קדמה	קדמה	קדמה	יקדם	תקדם	קדם
יחל	יחל	יחל	יחל	יחלה	יחל	תחל	יחל
יול	יולך	יולך	יולך	יולכה	יולך	תולך	יול
	חסד	חסד	חסד				חסד
יהב	יהב / יהבה	יהב	יהב	יהבה	יהב	תהב	יהב
					יהבו	תהבו	
					יהבן	תהבן	
קבר	קבר	קבר	קבר	קברה	יקבר	תקבר	קבר
ילכ	ילכי / ילכה	ילך	ילכי	ילכה	יהלכו	תהלכו	ילכ
					יהלכן	תהלכן	

Root.	Pres. Participle.	Preterite.	Perfect Participle.		Future, 1st pers. masc. and fem.	Imperative.
כתב	כותב	כתב	כתוב	כתובה	יכתב תכתב	כתב
					תכתבי	
נתן	נותן	נתן	נתון	נתונה	יתן תתן	תן
שמר	שומר	שמר	שמור	שמורה	ישמר תשמר תשמרי	שמר
קנה	קונה	קנה	קנוי	קנויה	יקנה תקנה	קנה
מצא	מוצא	מצא	מצוי	מצויה	ימצא תמצא	מצא
בנה	בונה בונא	בנה	בנוי	בנויה	יבנה תבנה	בנה
חכם	חכם	חכם	חכום	חכומה	יחכם תחכם	חכם
שב	שב	שב	שבות	שבותה	ישב תשב	שב
כתב	כותב כתבן	כתב	כתוב	כתובה	יכתב תכתב	כתב
		כתבו	כתבוב	כתבובה	תכתבי	
ירא	ירא	ירא	יריא	יריאה	ירא תרא	ירא
נתן	נותן	נתן	נתון	נתונה	יתן תתן	תן

Root.
Pres. Participle.
Preterite.
Perfect Participle.
Future, 1st pers. masc. and fem.
Imperative.

PASSIVE VOICE.

The Passive Voice, especially as formed by the first method given below, is very little used in the colloquial dialect of the people of Oroomiah. This results probably from the warmth of their feelings, which instinctively prefers a direct mode of expression. Where we should say "You will be delivered," they say "(Such a person) will deliver you;" for "You will be beaten," we generally hear the expression "They will beat you;" and so in a great number of cases. In the mountains, the passive voice is freely used in conversation; and, as it is employed also in our preaching and our books, it is desirable to become well acquainted with it. This is, however, an easy task.

There are three methods of indicating the passive voice, which will be in turn considered.

Method 1st.

The passive voice of any verb may be formed by prefixing to its perfect participle the inflections of the root ڤَرَد, in its different moods and tenses. This root properly means *to remain;* but, when thus employed as an auxiliary, it is equivalent to the verb of existence. Let us take for example the passive voice of ضَرَبَ *to strike,* the perfect participle of which is ضَرِبْ, مَضْرُوبْ and the infinitive passive لِكْتَعْزَا مَضْرُوبْ.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

كْتَعْزَا يَمِ مَضْرُوبْ I am struck (m.).	كْتَعْزَا يَمْوِ مَضْرُوبِي We are struck.
كْتَعْزَا يَفِ مَضْرُوبِي 1st fem.	
كْتَعْزَا يَمَا مَضْرُوبْ 2nd masc.	كْتَعْزَا يَتُوْ مَضْرُوبِي 2nd plural.
كْتَعْزَا يَفَا مَضْرُوبِي 2nd fem.	
كْتَعْزَا يَلِ مَضْرُوبْ 3rd masc.	كْتَعْزَا يَنِ مَضْرُوبِي 3rd plural.
كْتَعْزَا يَلَا مَضْرُوبِي 3rd fem.	

We have been accustomed to drop the ܐ of the present participle of this auxiliary.

Imperfect Tense.

ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬ	I was struck (m.).	ܟܬܝܒ ܚܢܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܡܫܬ	We were struck.
ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬܝ	1st fem.		
ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬ	2nd masc.	ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬ	2nd plural.
ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬܝ	2nd fem.		
ܟܬܝܒ ܗܘ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬ	3rd masc.	ܟܬܝܒ ܗܢܘܢ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬ	3rd plural.
ܟܬܝܒ ܗܝ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬ	3rd fem.		

Preterite Tense.

ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܐ ܡܫܬ	I was struck (m.).	ܟܬܝܒ ܚܢܢ ܡܫܬ	We were struck.
ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܐ ܡܫܬܝ	1st fem.		
ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܬ	2nd masc.	ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܡܫܬ	2nd plural.
ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܬܝ	2nd fem.		
ܟܬܝܒ ܗܘ ܡܫܬ	3rd masc.	ܟܬܝܒ ܗܢܘܢ ܡܫܬ	3rd plural.
ܟܬܝܒ ܗܝ ܡܫܬ	3rd fem.		

Sometimes ܗܘܝܬ is used as the auxiliary, and we have ܟܬܝܒ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬ, etc.

Perfect Tense.

ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬ	I have been struck (m.).	ܟܬܝܒ ܚܢܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܡܫܬ	We have been struck.
ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬܝ	1st fem.		
ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬ	2nd masc.	ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬ	2nd plural.
ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬܝ	2nd fem.		
ܟܬܝܒ ܗܘ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬ	3rd masc.	ܟܬܝܒ ܗܢܘܢ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬ	3rd plural.
ܟܬܝܒ ܗܝ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬ	3rd fem.		

Pluperfect Tense.

I had been struck (m.).		
1st fem.		We had been struck.
2nd masc.		
2nd fem.		2nd plural.
3rd masc.		
3rd fem.		3rd plural.

Future Tense.

In this tense either the future of the verb or the future of the verb may be employed. The signification in either case is nearly or quite the same.

I shall be struck (m.).		
1st fem.		We shall be struck.
2nd masc.		
2nd fem.		2nd plural.
3rd masc.		
3rd fem.		3rd plural.

In the same way inflect

.

NOTE.—There may possibly be, at times, a difference in the signification of these futures, arising from the signification, on the one hand, of *to remain*, and, on the other, of *to become*. Thus:

he will be or *continue in a state of holiness.*

he will become sanctified.

Here either ܩܛܠ or ܐܫܬܩܠ may be used, as in the future tense. Thus we have, for the present, ܩܛܠ ܒܫܠܡܐ or ܐܫܬܩܠ ܒܫܠܡܐ; for the imperfect, ܗܘܐ ܩܛܠ ܒܫܠܡܐ or ܗܘܐ ܐܫܬܩܠ ܒܫܠܡܐ, in a perfectly regular manner.

It is to be particularly observed that, where a verb is used in both the first and second classes, with the same signification, the shade of meaning in the passive will depend on which perfect participle is used in its formation. To illustrate: ܙܪܥ, as a verb of either the first or second class, means *to scatter seed, to sow.* But ܐܬܙܪܥ ܙܪܝܥܐ means *it was sowed* or *scattered,* as if by itself; while ܐܬܙܪܥ ܙܝܪܥܐ means *it was sowed* (by some individual). The signification is sometimes, however, such that this distinction cannot be kept up; e. g. ܐܬܟܪ ܟܝܪܐ and ܐܬܟܪ ܟܡܝܪܐ *he was grieved* or *sorry,* there being in neither case reference to the agent causing the sorrow. ܐܬܟܪ ܡܬܟܐ and ܐܬܟܪ ܡܡܬܟܐ *he was received,* on the other hand, must both of them indirectly refer to the agent.

Where the same word is used in both the first and second classes, with different meanings, of course there is a similar distinction in the passive; as, ܐܬܟܪ ܐܒܝܕ *he was lost,* ܐܬܟܪ ܐܐܒܝܕ *he was destroyed.*

Note.—It has been sometimes supposed that ܒܪܝܟ in the expression ܐܬܟܪ ܒܪܝܟ, is a perfect participle. But as ܒܪܟ is of the second class, and such a participle does not belong to verbs of the second class, this expression should be translated, not, *he was made blessed,* but, *he was a blessed individual,* ܒܪܝܟ being an adjective.

Note 2.—Sometimes the verb ܩܢܐ is used as almost or quite equivalent to the verb of existence, although the perfect participle of

another verb is not joined with it. Thus, ܩܛܠ ܐܢܐ ܒܥܐ *I have remained in doubt*, or *I am in doubt*, may be employed wherever ܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ would be allowable, and *vice versâ*.

Method 2nd.

There is a curious form of the passive, in daily use among the people, in which the verb ܐܬܐ *to come* is employed as an auxiliary, and the infinitive active of another verb is joined with it in a passive sense. We will take for illustration as before the root ܟܣܐ *to strike*.

ܡܟܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܟܣܐ	I am struck.
ܡܟܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܡܟܣܐ	I was being struck.
ܐܬܝ ܠܡܟܣܐ	I was struck.
ܐܬܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܟܣܐ	I have been struck.
ܐܬܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܡܟܣܐ	I had been struck.
ܐܬܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܟܣܐ	I shall be struck.

The subjunctive so much resembles the indicative, that it need not be written out.

Sometimes this form, especially in Koordistan, is a passive of capability, as, for example, ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܟܣܐ *if it can be struck*, i. e. *if it come into the position in which it may be struck*. This is perhaps the primitive idea of this form. There is, however, another mode in Oroomiah of expressing the sentiment, viz.: ܐܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܟܝܣ, where ܡܟܝܣ is used as we should use *strikable* in English, if such a word were allowed. So ܐܢ ܗܘܐ ܢܣܒ =*if it be takable*.

Method 3rd.

Instead of the form ܩܛܠ ܐܢܐ ܡܟܝܣ, the perfect active is often used in a passive sense. For the preceding, we thus have ܡܟܝܣ ܐܢܐ *I have been struck*. The explanation of this

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probably is that the perfect participle is passive, as well as active, in its meaning, while ܩܛܠ is merely a verb of existence, *I am .... having been struck.* The pluperfect active is also frequently used in the same way for the pluperfect passive; thus, ܗܘܝܬ ܩܛܠ may signify *I had struck,* or *I had been struck.*

VERBS WITH SUFFIXES.

Although the suffix-pronouns of the Modern Syriac are few and simple, it requires much practice to use them readily and accurately in conversation. It will be desirable therefore to examine the subject carefully.

The verbal suffixes do not differ, except in one or two instances, from those used for nouns and prepositions. A list of them has been already given. It will now be shown how these pronouns are suffixed to the verb in its different inflections.

Root ܫܦܐ *to heal.*

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

ܫܦܐܢܟ ܐ ܩܛܠ — I (m.) am healing thee (m.).	ܫܦܐܢܟ ܐ ܩܛܠ — I am healing you.
ܫܦܐܢܟ ܐ ܩܛܠ — I am healing thee (f.).	
ܫܦܐܢܗ ܐ ܩܛܠ — I am healing him.	ܫܦܐܢ ܐ ܩܛܠ — I am healing them.
ܫܦܐܢܗ ܐ ܩܛܠ — I am healing her.	

When the person speaking is a female, we have the same forms as above, except that ܩܛܠ is throughout substituted for ܩܛܠ.

ܫܦܐܢܝ ܐ ܩܛܠ — Thou (m.) art healing me.	ܫܦܐܢ ܐ ܩܛܠ — Thou art healing us.
ܫܦܐܢܗ ܐ ܩܛܠ — Thou art healing him.	
ܫܦܐܢܗ ܐ ܩܛܠ — Thou art healing her.	ܫܦܐܢ ܐ ܩܛܠ — Thou art healing them.

Here, as before, if the nominative be feminine, ـَفْلَى is to be substituted for ـَه.

ـَفْلَهْ ـَلَا	He is healing me.	ـَفْلَهْ ـَلَا	He is healing us.
ـَفْلَهْ ـَلَا	He is healing thee (m.).	ـَفْلَهْ ـَلَا	He is healing you.
ـَفْلَهْ ـَلَا	He is healing thee (f.).		
ـَفْلَهْ ـَلَا	He is healing him.	ـَفْلَهْ ـَلَا	He is healing them.
ـَفْلَهْ ـَلَا	He is healing her.		

If the agent is a female, ـَلَا is to be substituted for ـَلَا.

ـَفْلَهْ ـَفَا	We are healing thee (m.).	ـَفْلَهْ ـَفَا	We are healing you.
ـَفْلَهْ ـَفَا	We are healing thee (f.).		
ـَفْلَهْ ـَفَا	We are healing him.	ـَفْلَهْ ـَفَا	We are healing them.
ـَفْلَهْ ـَفَا	We are healing her.		
ـَفْلَهْ ـَهْ	Ye are healing me.	ـَفْلَهْ ـَهْ	Ye are healing us.
ـَفْلَهْ ـَهْ	Ye are healing him.	ـَفْلَهْ ـَهْ	Ye are healing them.
ـَفْلَهْ ـَهْ	Ye are healing her.		
ـَفْلَهْ ـَنَا	They are healing me.	ـَفْلَهْ ـَنَا	They are healing us.
ـَفْلَهْ ـَنَا	They are healing thee (m.).	ـَفْلَهْ ـَنَا	They are healing you.
ـَفْلَهْ ـَنَا	They are healing thee (f.).		
ـَفْلَهْ ـَنَا	They are healing him.	ـَفْلَهْ ـَنَا	They are healing them.
ـَفْلَهْ ـَنَا	They are healing her.		

One who has familiarized himself with the preceding suffixes of the present tense, will have no difficulty in using the suffixes with the imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, and second future tenses. In every case the suffix is to be joined with the participle, and not with the auxiliary. Take

as examples ܩܛܠ ܠܗ *I was healing him,* ܩܛܠ ܠܟ *he has healed you,* ܩܛܠ ܠܢ *they had healed me,* ܬܩܛܠ ܠܗ *he will have healed her.*

Preterite Tense.

The regular preterite, ܩܛܠ, since its appropriate terminations so much resemble the suffix-pronouns, does not admit of their use except in a single case. In the third person singular masculine we may have ܩܛܠ *he healed him,* ܐ being substituted for the terminal ܗ.

When it is desirable to employ suffixes with the preterite, the form ܩܛܠ ܠ is much used in Oroomiah. While the suffixes of this tense are, in the main, like those of the present, imperfect, pluperfect, and second future, it takes in many cases a sliding letter ܠ, and uses for the suffixes of the third person singular ܐ and ܐ, and of the third person plural ܘ and ܘܐ. The future tense follows this form of the preterite in every respect, and so too those tenses of the subjunctive which resemble the future in their form, except that, where ܩܛܠ is used, the pronoun is placed after it, and always takes the sliding letter ܠ.

ܩܛܠ ܠܝ { I (m.) healed thee (m.).
ܩܛܠ ܠܟ { I healed thee (f.).
ܩܛܠ ܠܗ I healed him.
ܩܛܠ ܠܐ I healed her.
ܩܛܠ ܠܢ I healed you.
ܩܛܠ ܠܘ } I healed them (more rarely).
ܩܛܠ ܠܝ }

When the verb has a feminine nominative of the first person singular, we have, instead of the preceding form, ܩܛܠ ܠܝ, ܩܛܠ ܠܟ, etc.

ܩܛܠ ܠܟ { Thou (m.) healedst me.
ܩܛܠ ܠܟ { Thou healedst him.
ܩܛܠ ܠܟ { Thou healedst her.
ܩܛܠ ܠܢ { Thou healedst us.
ܩܛܠ ܠܟ } Thou healedst them (more rarely).
ܩܛܠ ܠܟ }

When the agent is a female, the form is פְּעַל קְטָלַת כְּ, etc.

פְּעַל קְטָלַנִי	He healed me.	פְּעַל קְטָלַנוּ	He healed us.
פְּעַל קְטָלַךְ	He healed thee (m.).	פְּעַל קְטָלַכֶם	He healed you.
פְּעַל קְטָלַךְ	He healed thee (f.).	פְּעַל קְטָלַכֶן	
פְּעַל קְטָלוֹ	He healed him.	פְּעַל קְטָלָם	He healed them (more rarely).
פְּעַל קְטָלָהּ	He healed her.	פְּעַל קְטָלַן	

The form is the same as the preceding, when the nominative is the third person singular feminine, קְטָלַת being substituted for קְטַל. When the verb is in the plural, whether it be of the first, second, or third person, its suffixes are similar to those of the second and third persons singular; e. g. פְּעַל קְטָלְנוּהוּ כְּ *we healed him*, פְּעַל קְטָלְתֶנוּ כֶּם *ye healed us*, פְּעַל קְטָלַתְךְ כֶּן *they healed thee* (f.).

Where כְּ is employed as a connecting letter, the suffix is generally written separately from the verb, though this is not essential.

There is a very common form of the preterite, in which the pronoun, instead of being suffixed, as in the preceding examples, to the verb, is embraced within it, and precedes the terminal letters. The perfect participle of any verb being known, the pronoun is to be suffixed to this, after the final ה has been dropped, and the terminations כְּ, כֶם, כֶן, etc., added to form the different persons. After ־ we have simply ־ְ, ־ֶם, etc.

The pronouns are as follows, and are evidently fragments of the separable personal pronouns.

־ִי	me.	־ֵנוּ	us.
־ָךְ	thee (m.).		
־ָךְ	thee (f.).		
־ָהּ	her.	־ָם	them.

The pronouns for the third person singular masculine and the second person plural are wanting; but this gives

rise to no practical difficulty, as the idea may always be expressed by בֵּית חֹלֶה with the appropriate suffixes. From חָלָה, its termination being dropped, we have חָלַי. Adding to this the pronoun of the first person, with the terminations given above, we then have:

חָלַיְתָּנִי Thou (m.) healedst me.
חָלַיְתִּנִי Thou (f.) healedst me.
חָלָנִי He healed me.
חָלְתָה נִי She healed me.

חָלִיתֶנִי You healed me.
חָלוּנִי They healed me.

By a similar process, we have:

חָלַיְתִּיךָ I healed thee (m.).
חָלָהוּ He healed thee.
חָלְתָה הּ She healed thee.

חָלִינוּךָ We healed thee.
חָלוּהוּ They healed thee.

חָלַיְתִּיךְ I healed thee (f.).
חָלָהוּ He healed thee.
חָלְתָה הּ She healed thee.

חָלִינוּךְ We healed thee.
חָלוּהוּ They healed thee.

חָלַיְתִּיהָ I healed her.
חָלָתְהוּ He healed her.
חָלְתָה הּ She healed her.

חָלִינוּהָ We healed her.
חָלוּהָ They healed her.

חָלַיְתָּהּ Thou (m.) healedst her.
חָלַיְתִּהּ Thou (f.) healedst her.

חָלִיתֶהָ You healed her.

חָלַיְתִּינוּ Thou (m.) healedst us.
חָלַיְתִּנוּ Thou (f.) healedst us.
חָלָנוּ He healed us.
חָלְתָה נוּ She healed us.

חָלִיתֶנוּ You healed us.
חָלוּנוּ They healed us.

ܚܗܦܟܢ	I healed them.	ܚܗܦܟܝ	We healed them.
ܚܗܦܟܗ	Thou (m.) healedst them.	ܚܗܦܟܟܘܢ	You healed them.
ܚܗܦܟܟܝ	Thou (f.) healedst them.		
ܚܗܦܟ	He healed them.	ܚܗܦܟܘ	They healed them.
ܚܗܦܟܬ	She healed them.		

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE SUFFIXES OF VERBS.

It should be understood that all the suffixes given above may be used in precisely the same manner with verbs of both classes, whether regular or irregular. Some of these forms, however, are not in universal use among the people. For instance, in Tekhoma, instead of the expressions ܩܛܠܘܗܝ ܠܗ, ܩܛܠܘܗܝ ܠܗ, we hear ܩܛܠܘ ܠܗ ܐܢ, ܩܛܠܘ ܠܗ ܐܢ. Nor do any verbs there admit of the suffixes ـܗ and ـܐ. The form ܩܛܠ ܩܛܠ is never used in the interior districts of Koordistan. In its place we may hear the form of the preterite last given, which includes the pronoun within itself; or, in case the idea could not be expressed by that, as "I healed you (pl.)," expressions such as ܚܗܦܟ ܠܟܘܢ would take its place.

There are other local peculiarities in the use of the suffixes, such as ـܘܗܘ *they saw him*, on which it is unnecessary to dwell. The usage in our books has of late years been quite uniform. It may, however, be remarked that the suffixes ـܠܟ, ـܠܟܝ, etc., are found much oftener in the written than in the spoken Syriac of Oroomiah.

RELATION OF THE MODERN TO THE ANCIENT VERB.

Before dismissing the Verb, it will be interesting to refer briefly to the structure of the verb in the ancient language, and trace, if possible, some of the changes it has undergone.

And, first of all, it is obvious that regular verbs of three radicals of the first class bear a strong analogy in form and signification to the conjugation Peal. The imperative is in both precisely the same, except that in the modern ـ is almost universally added to the plural. We do, however, hear in one district, Nochea, ܫܡܥܘ *hear ye,* ܐܬܘ *come ye.* The perfect participle of the modern is also the same with the passive participle of the ancient, except that it always takes the termination ـَ, in accordance with the general usage of the modern. Sometimes the ancient participle is used in an active sense; e. g. ܫܡܺܝܥ, ܝܳܕܺܝܥ, etc. So, much oftener, the modern. Sometimes the ancient participle unites both significations in the same verb, as in the case of ܡܫܺܝܚ. So ordinarily the modern.

It also seems easy to see how the modern infinitive is derived from the ancient, viz. ܡܫܺܝܚܳܐ, ܟ being substituted for ܐ, or, rather, ܐ being dropped, the usual ـَ being added, and the ـَـ, as a necessary consequence, being changed into ـَـ. We thus have ܫܡܺܝܥܟ.

As to the preterite, when we find ܩܡ ܠܗ in the ancient, meaning "he rose to himself," i. e. *he rose,* who can doubt that this is nothing more nor less than ܩܡܟ? So ܝܕܥ ܠܗ in the ancient is equivalent to ܝܕܥ in the modern, ܢܦܠ ܠܗ to ܢܦܠ, ܦܬܚ ܠܗ to ܦܬܚ, and so on. Our mode, however, of spelling the preterite, more correctly represents the present pronunciation. In regard to the general idiom, see Hoff. § 123, 6, and Nordh. § 868.

As to the future, it is very plainly derived from the present participle of the ancient language. Any one who will examine Hoff. § 57, 2, and compare the forms there given with the modern, will be satisfied at once. The present subjunctive has of course the same origin. No trace remains of the ancient future.

As to the particle ܒܕ, prefixed to the future of all verbs, it is barely possible that it is identical with պիտի, *bidi*, which is employed in the same way in the Armenian verb. But it is far more probable that it is a fragment of ܒܥܐ *to wish*. In some parts of Koordistân the people use ܒܥܐ for ܒܕ; e. g. ܒܥܐ ܕܡܙܡܪ *I wish to sing*, literally, *that I may sing*. But in Tâl we find a mode of speaking which seems to be decisive as to the origin of ܒܕ, and also goes to show that it should have been written ܒܥ. Thus:

ܒܥܐ ܕܡܙܡܪ	I will sing (m.).	ܒܥܝܢ ܕܡܙܡܪ	1st plural.
ܒܥܐ ܕܡܙܡܪ	1st fem.		
ܒܥܐ ܕܡܙܡܪ	2nd masc.	ܒܥܐ ܕܡܙܡܪ	2nd pl. masc.
ܒܥܐ ܕܡܙܡܪ	2nd fem.	ܒܥܐ ܕܡܙܡܪ	2nd. pl. fem.
ܒܥܐ ܕܡܙܡܪ	3rd masc.		
ܒܥܐ ܕܡܙܡܪ	3rd fem.	ܒܥܐ ܕܡܙܡܪ or ܒܥܐ	3rd plural.

In the same way the verb *to wish* is used as an auxiliary in Persian, in forming the future, as خواهم شد. In English also, *will* and *wish* are in many cases identical; e. g. *What will you?* which may mean *what do you wish?* So *will* in other languages: *vouloir, volo, βουλομαι*, which mean either *to will* or *to wish*. Compare also the modern Greek future *θέλω γράψει, θέλω εἶναι*, etc., *I will write, I will be*. So too, from the ancient ܫܡܥ we have the modern ܫܡܥ, and from the ancient ܫܡܟ, the modern ܫܡܟ.

As to the present participle, the question may fairly be raised, whether the prefix ܒ is not really a preposition, the present participle being in fact a verbal noun. If this idea be correct, ܒܥܐ ܕܡܙܡܪ may be literally translated *I am in* (the act of) *finishing*; ܒܥܐ ܕܡܟܠ *I am in* (the act of) *eating*. The verb ܟܫܚ *to laugh*, which uses both forms ܒܥܐ and ܒܥܐ in the present, the latter being clearly a noun, seems to throw light on this point.

On examining the second class of verbs of three radicals, we see a resemblance to the conjugation Paël. Take, for example, the verb ܒܪܟ (modern ܒܲܪܟ) *to bless.* In the ancient, the imperative is ܒܪܟ, and the plural ܒܪܟܘ; in the modern, ܒܲܪܟ, ܒܲܪܟܘ. The infinitive in the ancient is ܡܒܪܟܘ; in the modern, ܡܒܲܪܟܳܐ or ܒܲܪܟܳܐ, the first form being no doubt the more ancient one. Here the resemblance in sound is very striking, and a transposition of the ܐ will make the written forms not dissimilar.

As to the present participle, e. g. ܡܒܲܪܟܳܐ, this may be derived from the infinitive of Paël, and can be from nothing else. It is therefore to be considered primitively an infinitive, though now used as a participle. The perfect participle is evidently from the participle of Paël. Thus, the ancient is ܡܒܪܟ, ܡܒܪܟܝ; the modern, ܡܒܲܪܟ, ܡܒܲܪܟܝ. ܐ has been inserted here, but the sound is not materially changed. The same remark applies to the preterite, which has a derivation similar to that of the preterite of the first class. Compare the ancient ܒܪܟ ܟ with the modern ܒܲܪܟ ܟ. As to the future, a single remark may be made. Since ◌ܲ◌ is the distinguishing vowel of Paël, it is not strange that this should be often preferred to ◌ܳ◌ in the modern. And so we find it, e. g. ܢܲܒܪܟ and many other verbs of the second class. The ◌ܲ◌ is also naturally preferred in the present participle.

Verbs of the second class often bear the same relation to verbs of the first class that Paël does to Peal, neuter verbs of the first class becoming transitive in the second class, as has been already shown (Hoff. § 59).

The causative verbs, formed by prefixing ܐ to the root, are evidently connected, if not identical, with the participle of Afel, or, if any one prefers, with the conjugation of Mafel. Thus, from the ancient ܐܒܪ, we have ܡܐܒܪ; and from the modern ܐܲܒܪ, we have also ܡܐܲܒܪ. So too, from ancient ܐܣܗܕ, modern ܐܲܣܗܕ; from ancient ܐܫܟ, modern ܐܲܫܟ.

While the signification of any particular verb in the ancient may not correspond to that of the same verb in the modern, the general usage in regard to Afel and the modern causative verb is the same. For instance, the Nestorians sometimes simply change the intransitive into a transitive. Thus, in the modern, from the intransitive ܝܒܸܫ *to dry,* we have ܐܵܝܒܸܫ *to dry,* i. e. *to make dry.* Sometimes they change the transitive verb into a causative, with an accusative of the person and another of the thing; thus, from ܠܒܫ *to put on* (*clothes*), we have ܐܲܠܒܸܫ *to cause to put on:* ܐܲܠܒܸܫ ܠܶܗ ܠܠܒܫܵܐ *put clothes upon him.* Sometimes these forms are used in an intransitive sense, as ܐܵܟܸܚ *to freeze,* ܐܵܢܸܚ *to rest;* which, though they admit of a causative signification, are oftener intransitive. Compare Hoff. § 60.

We see also in the Modern Syriac traces of several of the rarer conjugations. For example, the reduplication of a single letter of the root; as ܒܲܒܒ, from ܒܲܒ; ܫܲܫܫ, from ܫܲܫ; ܟܲܟܟ, from ܟܲܟ; or the falling away of one radical, and the reduplication of the other two; as (Palpel) ܙܲܡܙܲܡ, from ܙܲܡ; ܥܲܟܥܲܟ, from ܥܲܟ; or the addition of ܠ to the root (in the ancient ܒ); as (Pali) ܩܲܕܡܠ, from ܩܲܕܡ; ܫܲܕܠ, from ܫܲܕ; ܫܲܟܠ, from ܫܲܟ; or the addition of ܒ to the root; as (Palen) ܢܲܓܕܒ (ancient ܢܓܕܒ); ܚܲܟܠ, from ܚܲܟ; ܫܲܚܕܒ, from ܫܚܕ; or the prefixing of ܫ; as (Shafel) ܫܲܫܟ, from ܫܲܟ; or the prefixing of ܗ; as (Safel) ܗܲܫܓܚ, from ܫܓܚ; ܗܲܫܬܐ, probably from ܫܬܐ; or the prefixing of ܐ; as (Tafel) ܐܲܬܟܬܒ, probably from ܟܬܒ (ܐܸܬܟܬܒ); or, in a few cases, verbs of five radicals from verbs of three radicals, as in Hebrew, by reduplication; as ܬܲܪܓܡ, from ܬܪܓܡ.

ARTICLE.

The Modern Syriac has properly no definite article; but the demonstrative pronouns ܗܵܢ masc., ܗܵܠ fem., and ܐܸܠܸܝ comm. pl. are often used as we use the definite article in English. It need hardly be remarked that this is also the usage of the ancient language. Compare the Hebrew article הַ, which is no doubt a fragment of the pronoun הַהוּא (Nordh. § 648). Ordinary usage prefixes these pronouns to the noun, and hardly admits of their following it.

The numeral ܚܰܕ masc., ܚܰܕܵܐ fem., is also employed as an indefinite article, in accordance with early usage. Compare the Chaldee חַד and the occasional use in Hebrew of אֶחָד. On the plain of Oroomiah, ܚܰܕ is prefixed to nouns of both genders.

NOUNS.

The Nestorians formerly made no distinction between nouns and adjectives; but, as there are many and obvious reasons for treating them separately, the general practice of grammarians will be followed.

GENDER.

The noun is of two genders, masculine and feminine, often not distinguishable by their termination. Thus, ܟܸܫܵܢܵܐ *a miller* is masculine, and ܥܸܕܬܵܐ *time* is feminine, though both have the same termination ܵܐ. Only one rule of much importance can be given for the gender of nouns as distinguished by their form, viz. that those which receive the ending ܬܵܐ are feminine. This rule is nearly or quite a universal one. ܒܹܝܬܵܐ *a house*, ܩܡܨܬܵܐ *a fist*, ܡܘܬܵܐ *death*, and ܐܸܣܬܵܐ *a gelding*, which are masculine, are not to be considered as exceptions; for in these words ܬ is a part of the root, and not of the

termination. The final syllable of the masculine noun is often changed into ـَة, or more rarely ـِيَة, to form the feminine; e. g. سَفَدٌ *a donkey,* سَفَدَةٌ *a she-donkey;* حِصَانٌ *a horse,* حِصَانِيَةٌ *a mare;* ثَعْلَبٌ *a fox,* ثَعْلَبِيَةٌ *a she-fox,* etc. حَيَّةٌ *a serpent* has for its feminine حَيَّوِيَةٌ, somewhat irregularly.

In a few nouns, the vowels are modified in the feminine; e. g. كَلْبٌ *a dog,* كَلْبَةٌ *a bitch;* سِنٌّ *a tooth,* سِنَّةٌ *a little tooth,* as of a watch-wheel, etc.

Some nouns ending in ا are feminine; e. g. رَحَا *a mill,* بَا *a hen-house,* مَا *a kind of cradle,* مَعْلَفٌ *a manger,* خَمَا *a recess,* مَخَاضَةٌ *a ford.* Also the names of females, as حَنَّا, نَوَا, سَلْمَا, عَزَّةُ, etc. This rule has frequent exceptions, and is given with some little hesitation.

A separate word is also used in some cases for the feminine; e. g. ذَكَرٌ *a male sparrow,* عُقَارٌ *a female sparrow;* عَقَارِيبُ plural (m. and f.); ذِئْبٌ *a male wolf,* سِرْحَانٌ *a she-wolf;* هِرٌّ *a male cat,* قَطَّةٌ *a she-cat;* بَطٌّ *a drake,* بَطَّةٌ *a duck;* ثَوْرٌ *a male buffalo,* جَامُوسٌ *a female buffalo.*

Gender distinguished by signification.—The names of males, of nations, as Israel, Judah, etc., of rivers, mountains, and months, of artizans, traders, and professional persons, are masculine. So too, as in Hebrew, a multitude of material-nouns, beginning with جَسَدٌ *a body,* such as those denoting gold, silver, copper, and all the metals, excepting lead; wood, stone (sometimes feminine), wool, flesh, grass, dirt, glass, cotton, fire, lime, paper, spice, gall-nuts, copperas; also chair, table, book, lock, key, bread, etc.

On the other hand, all names of females, whether belonging to the human race, or not; relations of woman, such as mother, wife, etc.; the names of villages, cities, provinces, countries, and islands, are feminine. The names of trees

and fruits are partly masculine and partly feminine. Nouns of capacity are generally feminine, but exceptions are not infrequent. Abstract nouns are also in the majority of cases feminine, beginning with ܪܘܚܐ *spirit*, and take for the most part their appropriate termination ـܐ or ـܬܐ. When an article has two sizes, if the word denoting the larger is masculine, that denoting the smaller or inferior is naturally feminine; e. g. the earthen vessels denoted respectively by ܟܘܕܝܐ and ܟܘܕܝܟܐ; ܟܒܐ and ܣܗܕܬܐ; ܐܟܣܐ and ܐܟܣܝܬܐ; the copper vessels ܣܝܢ and ܩܘܡܟܐ; ܨܢܘܩܬܐ *a box*, and ܨܡܠܒ *a little box*, etc. ܣܟܝܢܐ and ܣܟܝܢܬܐ are both feminine, but the latter does not necessarily denote a small knife. The rule has, however, probably exceptions.

The rule in Hebrew that "members of the body by nature double are feminine," has in Modern Syriac some exceptions, although the words used to express elbow, knee, heel, ear, hand, foot, thigh, shoulder-blade, eye, cheek, etc., are evidence of its existence.

Some nouns are used by the people of one district as masculine, and by those of another as feminine: as ܐܘܝܪܐ *the air*, or *the weather*. In the plural, there is generally no distinction of genders.

The above rules and suggestions may be of some use to the learner, and are the result, however unsatisfactory they may be, of full and careful investigation. But it should be understood that no foreigner can speak the language correctly, without a thorough study of the subject for himself.

NUMBER.

There are two numbers, as in English, the singular and the plural. The plural, in the case of most nouns, is formed by changing ـَـ, which is ordinarily the vowel of the last syllable, into ـِـ, as ܦܠܓܐ *a part*, ܦܠܓܐ *parts*, and placing over the word the two square dots now called ܣܝܡܐ, but in the ancient language oftener ܢܩܛ. In a similar

way, many nouns which do not in the singular terminate in ܐ form their plural by adding ܐ; e. g. ܥܡܐ *a people*, plural ܥܡܡܐ. These nouns are mostly of foreign origin.

Nouns ending in ܐ form their plurals by changing that termination into ܬ, and more rarely into ܗ or ܝ. Thus, ܦܪܝܬܐ *fruit*, ܦܪܝܩܬܐ *fruits*; ܥܡܪܐ *a cave*, ܥܡܪܬܐ *caves*; ܣܦܬܐ *a lip*, ܣܦܘܗܝ *lips*; ܐܢܬܬܐ *a woman*, ܐܢܫܬܐ *women*. In some cases, where the plural is formed by adding ܐ, the original ܐ is retained, and especially if it forms a part of the root. We thus have, from ܦܢܐ *a face*, ܦܬܓܡܐ, and not ܦܓܡܬܐ; from ܒܝܬܐ *a house*, ܒܬܡܐ; from ܐܚܬܐ *a sister*, ܐܚܘܗܝ. Yet, in vulgar usage, ܐ is sometimes dropped from ܒܬܡܐ, the plural of ܟܦܪܐ *a village*. ܓܢܬܐ *a yard*, forms its plural irregularly, thus, ܓܢܝ. So ܟܠܬܐ *a bride*, ܟܠܬܬܐ; ܫܒܥܐ *a week*, ܫܒܥܬܐ; ܥܡܐ *a burden*, ܥܡܘܗܝ. ܐܕܢܐ *an ear* retains the ܐ, and has for its plural ܐܕܢܝ. The class forming the plural in ܬ is very numerous, and comprises the greater part of the feminine nouns in ܐ, and perhaps all in ܝ. ܣܗܕܘܬܐ *testimony* has generally ܣܗܕܘܬܗ, but admits a regular plural.

In Koordistan, the plural termination of nouns of which the singular ends in ܐ is ܝ, ܐ, or ܝܐ, in accordance with the usage of the ancient language. We thus have ܒܬܡܐ, ܥܡܪܐ, etc.

The plural termination ܐ is by no means confined to nouns of which the singular ends in ܐ. If a word terminate in ܐ, the ܐ may be dropped and ܐ added; e. g. ܠܒܐ *a heart*, ܠܒܒܬܐ; ܢܗܪܐ *a river*, ܢܗܪܘܬ. If the word terminate in ܐ, the ܐ is dropped as before, and ـܪ is changed into ـܝ;

e. g. ܐܘܪܝܐ *a manger,* ܐܘܪܝܬܐ; ܣܘܣܝܐ *a horse,* ܣܘܣܝܬܐ. ܒܝܪܐ *a recess* has either ܒܝܪܬܐ or ܒܝܬܐ. If the word terminate in a consonant, this takes ـܐ, and then the termination is added; e. g. ܒܪܟܐ *a pool,* ܒܪܟܬܐ; ܓܘܕܐ *an army,* ܓܘܕܝܬܐ. But it is to be noted that ܪܚܡܐ *a mercy* does not take this ـܐ, but makes its plural ܪܚܡܝܬܐ.

A very prevalent, but vulgar, pronunciation of plurals in ـܐ, ـܬܐ, or ـܝܬܐ, is to change the sound of ܐ final into that of long *e.* Thus, the plural of ܣܘܣܝܐ is pronounced *soosawaē;* of ـܝܐ, *mawaē,* etc.

A class of nouns by no means inconsiderable form the plural by changing the final ܐ of the singular into ܐܢ; e. g. ܥܩܒܐ *a heel,* ܥܩܒܢ; ܫܘܒܐ *a road,* ܫܘܒܢ; ܥܢܢܐ *a cloud,* ܥܢܢܬܐ.

Another class change the singular termination ܐ into ܢ; or, in case the singular does not end in ܐ, add ܢ to it. Examples of the first are ܚܩܠܐ *a field,* ܚܩܠܬܢ; ܚܙܘܬܐ *a vision,* ܚܙܘܬܢ: of the other, ܒܝܬܐ *real estate,* ܒܝܬܬܢ; ܡܕܝܢܬܐ *a thing,* ܡܕܝܢܬܬܢ.

Still another small class is characterized by the doubling in the plural of the consonant which precedes the final ܐ; e. g. ܒܪܟܠܐ *a skirt,* ܒܪܟܠܠܐ; ܐܦܐ *a nostril,* ܐܦܦܐ; ܒܪܟܐ *a knee,* ܒܪܟܟܐ.

Some few nouns are reducible to no rule; e. g. ܒܪܬܐ *a daughter,* ܒܢܬ; ܫܢܬܐ *a year,* ܫܢܝ; ܒܪܐ *a son,* ܒܢܐ; ܒܝܥܐ *an egg,* ܒܝܥ; ܒܥܠܐ *a husband,* ܒܥܠܬܢ or ܒܥܝܬܐ; ܡܕܝܢܬܐ *a city,* ܡܕܝܢ; ܥܕܬܐ *a church,* ܥܕܬ. Some have Turkish plurals, with the Syriac termination added; e. g. ܓܙܝܪܬܐ *an island,* ܓܙܝܪܠܬܐ. So sometimes ܡܪܝ *a master,* ܡܪܝܐ.

Some nouns have two or three plurals; as, ܦܥܠ *a verb*, ܦܥܠ, ܦܥܠ, ܦܥܠ; ܝܘܡ *a day*, ܝܘܡ, ܝܘܡ, ܝܘܡ. It is noticeable, in regard to a number of these, that the signification changes with the form of the plural; e. g. ܥܢܒܐ *a grape*, ܥܢܒ *grapes* (by the quantity), ܥܢܒܐ *individual grapes*; ܚܛܐ *a grain of wheat*, ܚܛ *wheat* (by the quantity), ܚܛܐ *grains of wheat*. So ܢܥܠ *a shoe*, ܢܥܠ, ܢܥܠ; ܪܫܐ *a head*, ܪܫ, ܪܫܐ; ܟܘܪܣܝ *a boot*, ܟܘܪܣܝ, ܟܘܪܣܝ; ܚܢܛܐ *a grain*, ܚܢܛ, ܚܢܛܐ.

Some nouns are used only in the plural; e. g. ܡܝ *water*, ܚܝ *life*, ܪܚܡ *mercy*, etc. Some, such as names of metals, do not admit of any plural.

The plurals of most nouns must be learned by practice, as, with the exception of those in ܐ, no certain rule can be given for ascertaining what form the plural assumes. The design has been in the preceding examples to give the plurals in most common use; but, as every native we consult thinks, of course, the custom in his own village is the prevalent one, it is difficult to arrive at certainty. In this, and a great number of other cases, the forty pupils of our Seminary, who are from places widely separated from each other, have been questioned.

CASE. CONSTRUCT AND EMPHATIC STATE.

The termination of most nouns is not affected by a change of case. Their different relations are generally expressed by prepositions, as in English and many other languages.

The construct state, a remnant of the ancient language, is also found in the Modern Syriac. Some forms, as, for instance, ܒܢܝ ܐܘܪܡܝܐ *the sons*, i. e. *people, of Oroomiah*, are in constant use. So, too, with the nouns ending in ܐ, in certain districts; e. g. ܐܦܝ ܟܣܦܐ *a baker of bread*, for ܐܦܝܐ ܕܟܣܦܐ. Moreover, to a limited extent, the first

noun changes final ـَا into ـَب when in the construct state. We thus have ܩܫܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ *the bow of our Lord,* the rainbow, for ܩܫܬ ܕܡܪܢ; ܐܕܢ ܥܙܐ *the ear of a goat,* for ܐܕܢ ܥܙ. The ideas also conveyed by a large number of our adjectives are expressed by ܒܥܠ, in the construct state, prefixed to a noun. Thus, ܒܥܠ ܟܝܢܐ *lord* or *possessor of usefulness;* ܒܥܠ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ *lord of wonder,* i. e. *wonderful;* ܒܥܠ ܝܩܪܐ *lord of price,* or *valuable.* Compare the usage of Anc. Syriac with ܒܥܠ, ܒܥܠ, etc. ܒܥܠ is sometimes omitted; e. g. ܐܘܪܚܐ ܘܕܚܠܐ ܠܟ *the road is (lord of) fear;* ܗܢܐ ܝܩܪܐ ܠܟ *this is (lord of) price,* i. e. *dear.*

As the emphatic state in Anc. Syriac gradually lost its significance (Hoff. §109, 2), so in the Modern it has disappeared altogether; or, rather, most nouns derived from the Ancient have assumed the emphatic form as their only form, thus virtually annihilating it. Thus, we have now only ܒܝܬܐ, ܡܠܟܐ, etc. So, too, the plurals ܒܬܐ and ܡܠܟܐ; the latter being in Koordistan ܡܠܟܬܐ.

DERIVATION OF NOUNS.

The great majority of purely Syriac nouns in the modern language are derived from the ancient form of the verb, and have continued in use from early times, without any material change. Such cases as the modern ܩܛܘܠ for the ancient ܩܛܘܠ, need no explanation. As this subject of derivation has been fully discussed by Hoffman, §§ 87, 88, it will be sufficient, here, to speak of it as affecting directly the signification of nouns.

Derivation from Nouns and Adjectives.

1. *Patrial Nouns.*—These are formed from names of districts, countries, etc., by changing the termination into ـَنا or ـَي; or, in case the word ends in a consonant, by adding

one of these terminations; ـَنْ is the most common of them. Examples are كَفَرْنَايَا, *an inhabitant of Gawar,* from كَفَرْ; ܬܟܘܡܝܐ *an inhabitant of Tekhoma,* from ܬܟܘܡ; ܪܘܣܝ *a Russian,* from ܪܘܣ; ܛܝܪܝ *an inhabitant of Tiary,* from ܛܝܪ; ܗܢܕܝ *a Hindoo,* from ܗܢܕ, or, better, the ancient ܣܗܝܕ. See the same mode of formation in the ancient language (Hoff. § 89, 2).

2. *Diminutive Nouns.*—These are formed by changing the termination of the noun into ـَيْ, as in the ancient language. Thus, from ـَلْ *a boy,* we have ـَلْيَا *a little boy;* from ـَرْ *a priest,* ـَرْيَا (a term of some disrespect) *a priestling;* from ـَرْ *an old man,* ـَرْيَا *a grandfather* (literally, a little old man); from ـَرْ *a father,* ـَرْيَا *a little father.* So ـَلْيَا *a little sister,* ـَرْيَا *a little wife.* ـَرْ and ـَرْ, which in Anc. Syriac denote, respectively, *a little brother,* and *a little son,* have now lost their signification, and are the most common terms for *brother* and *son.* The diminutive terminations ـَيْ, ـَيْ, ـَيْ, seem now to have become obsolete.

3. *Abstract Nouns.*—These are formed in a great number of cases from concrete nouns by changing the termination into ـَيْ; e. g. from ـَدْ *a witness,* ـَدْيَا *testimony;* ـَلْ *an artificer,* ـَلْيَا *mechanical skill;* from ـَ *a physician,* ـَيْ *skill in medicine,* or *the practice of medicine.* Sometimes the termination is changed into ـَيْ, or, where the word ends in a consonant, this is added. Thus, from ـَ *an enemy,* ـَيْ *enmity;* from ـَ *a relative,* ـَيْ *relationship.* ـَ forms its derivative in correspondence with ـَ, viz. ـَيْ.

NOTE.—Sometimes these abstracts are derived from other parts of speech; e. g. from ܐܰܦ̈ *how much*, ܐܰܦ̈ܳܝܽܐ; from ܩܳܕ̈ܳܡ *opposite*, ܩܳܕ̈ܳܡܽܝܽܐ.

This general mode of deriving abstract nouns is probably admissible in a much greater number of words in the Modern than in the Ancient Syriac, and is of great value for the introduction of new terms.

In a very few cases, nouns of this termination are not abstract. Thus, ܣ̈ܥ̈ܽܝܽܐ *a loom*. Compare the same word in the ancient language, denoting *a shop*.

Adjectives are changed in a similar manner into abstract nouns. Thus, from ܪ̈ܒ̈ܳܐ *great*, we have ܪ̈ܒ̈ܽܘܬ̈ܽܐ *greatness*; from ܓ̈ܰܒ̈ܪ̈ܳܐ *courageous*, ܓ̈ܰܒ̈ܪ̈ܽܘܬ̈ܽܐ *courage*; from ܪ̈ܡ̈ܳܐ *high*, ܪ̈ܡ̈ܽܝܽܐ *height*, etc.

Verbal Nouns.

A noun expressing the agent is in many cases formed from regular verbs of three radicals, whether of the first or second class, transitive or intransitive, by giving the first radical ـَـ, or ـِـ when the root has ـِـ and adding ـَܐ for the termination. Take, for example, the transitive verb ܟ̈ܬ̈ of the first class, meaning, *to hold*. From this we have ܟ̈ܳܬ̈ܳܐ *a holder*, or *one who holds*. Take the transitive verb ܟ̈ܕ̈ of the second class, denoting *to tempt*. By the same mode of formation we have ܟ̈ܳܕ̈ܳܐ *a tempter*. When the verb is not transitive, the derived word partakes rather of the nature of an adjective than of a noun; e. g. from ܟ̈ܰܚ̈ *to be or become lean*, we have ܟ̈ܳܚ̈ܳܐ *apt to become lean*. From ܕ̈ܡ̈ *to sleep*, comes ܕ̈ܳܡ̈ܳܐ *one who sleeps*. This may be used in construction with or without a noun; e. g. ܐ̈ ܓ̈ܰܒ̈ܪ̈ܳܐ ܕ̈ܳܡ̈ܳܐ *O sleeping man!* or, without a noun to agree with it, ܕ̈ܳܡ̈ܳܐ ܒ̈ ܩ̈ܒ̈ܪ̈ *a sleeper in the grave*.

When a noun is derived from a verb used in both the first and second classes with different significations, the connection only can determine the meaning of the derivative. Thus, ܫܟܚ, when conjugated according to the first class, means *to squeeze, to escape;* and according to the second class, *to save.* The derivative ܫܳܟܺܝܚܳܢܳܐ may mean either *a squeezer, one who escapes,* or *a deliverer.*

In the ancient language, derivatives of this form and termination have often an abstract signification, as ܐܶܒܕܳܢܳܐ *destruction;* but this is rarely, if ever, the case in the modern. ܟܕܳܢܳܐ, from ܟܕܐ *to rain,* is, however, sometimes used as equivalent to ܡܛܪܳܐ *rain;* e. g. ܕܳܐ ܟܕܳܢܳܐ ܠܗ ܫܢܬܳܐ ܗܳܕܶܝܢ *there is much rain this year.* There may be other examples of this kind.

When the verb is not a regular one, the derivative is in some cases slightly different from the forms given above. In verbs with medial ܐ or ܘ, as ܩܳܐܶܡ, we have ܘ for the second radical, and the derived noun is ܩܳܘܡܳܢܳܐ. ܝܳܕ has ܝܳܕܳܥܳܢܳܐ in Koordistan. In verbs with medial ܕ, the derivative may be either regular, as ܦܳܩܕܳܢܳܐ, from ܦܩܕ, or irregular, as ܦܽܩܳܕܳܢܳܐ. In verbs with final ܐ, ܝ takes the place of ܐ, and the derivative is the same in form, whether the verb be of the first or of the second class. Thus from ܒܢܐ we have ܒܢܳܝܳܢܳܐ, and from ܫܩܐ, second class, ܫܩܳܝܳܢܳܐ. Verbs with final ܕ are generally regular in forming the derivative, when of the first class; but when of the second class, as ܟܢܫ *to assemble,* the derivative retains the ـ. We thus have ܟܢܫܳܢܳܐ. The derivative of the irregular verb ܥܒܕ or ܥܒܕ may be regular, but as spoken is ܥܳܒܕܳܢܳܐ. ܨܡܘ and similar verbs are very regular; e. g. ܨܳܡܘܳܢܳܐ. ܩܕܡ and verbs which are inflected like it take ـ; e. g.

ܩܕܡܝܐ; ܡܟܟ makes ܡܟܟܝܐ, ܡܪܝ makes ܡܪܝܐ, ܡܪܗ makes ܡܪܗܝܐ, ܡܫܫ makes ܡܫܫܝܐ.

It should be mentioned that these nouns, nearly or quite all, form a feminine in ܬܐ; e. g. ܩܕܝܫ, ܩܕܝܫܬܐ. The distinction may be kept up in the plural. For instance, ܩܕܝܫ *males who read,* ܩܕܝܫܝ *females who read.* But this is not the common usage.

Care must be taken not to confound ܦܥܠ *a worker,* with ܥܒܕ *work;* ܦܩܕ *one who commands,* with ܥܝܕܬܐ *a commandment;* ܦܪܩ *one who saves,* with ܥܝܕܬܐ *salvation;* ܝܠܦ *a learner,* with ܣܝܟܠ *learning;* ܝܩܕ *a burner,* or *one who burns,* with ܝܩܕܬܐ *fuel,* etc.

The noun expressing the agent is occasionally formed by giving ـَـ to each radical and adding a terminal ܐ. Thus, from ܙܡܪ *to sing,* is formed ܙܰܡܳܪܳܐ *a singer;* from ܟܪܟ *to braid,* ܟܰܪܳܟܳܐ *a braider;* from ܚܨܕ *to reap,* ܚܰܨܳܕܳܐ *a reaper;* from ܚܦܪ *to dig,* ܚܰܦܳܪܳܐ *a digger.* These nouns do not allow ـَـ with their first radical, as sometimes in the Ancient Syriac (Hoff. § 87, 11). They differ from those terminating in ܢ by denoting the habitual action or condition of the agent. Thus ܙܡܪܢ may mean, simply, one who sings on a particular occasion; while ܙܰܡܳܪܳܐ denotes one who makes singing to some extent his business. Many verbs allow either form of derivative.

Sometimes the noun denoting the agent is formed by inserting ـَـ between the second and third radicals, and giving the first and last radicals ـَـ, with a terminal ܐ. Thus we have, from ܩܛܠ *to kill,* ܩܰܛܳܠܳܐ *a murderer;* ܦܰܛܺܝܪܳܐ *a slapjack,* from ܦܛܪ *to be broad;* ܦܰܪܳܩܳܐ *a saviour,* from ܦܪܩ *to save;* ܩܰܪܳܩܳܐ *a crower, a cock,* from ܩܪܐ *to call.*

No one verb, so far as recollected, admits of both the forms last given, although we find in Anc. Syriac ܦܘܥܠܢܐ and ܦܥܘܠܢܐ. This indeed is unnecessary, as, if both forms existed, each would be the synonym of the other.

These two kinds of derivatives in the modern language never have an abstract signification, and Hoffman, § 87, 12, probably is mistaken in saying that they have in the ancient, quoting ܩܛܘܠܐ, etc., in proof of it. We, however, translate ܒܥܘܬܐ by ܒܥܝܬܐ in Acts 7 : 10, as there is here little, if any, practical difference between *distressers* and *distresses*. The form with ܘ does not, in the modern, take ˙ with its first radical; nor is there any such distinction as in the ancient between ܐܒܐ *a father*, and ܒܪܐ *a child*.

Following the general analogy of the ancient language (Hoff. 87, 3), the modern forms many abstracts, from regular verbs of the first class, by giving the second radical ˙ and adding ܐ for the masculine and ܐܐ for the feminine termination. Thus, from ܦܠܓ *to split*, we have ܦܠܓܐ, ܦܠܓܬܐ *splitting;* from ܩܛܡ *to cut*, ܩܛܡܐ, ܩܛܡܬܐ *cutting;* from ܫܠܚ *to plunder*, ܫܠܚܐ, ܫܠܚܬܐ, *plundering*. Some verbs use either of these forms indifferently; as ܐܒܕܐ, ܐܒܕܬܐ *perishing, destruction*, from ܐܒܕ *to perish;* but one or the other is generally preferred. Thus, from ܩܪܒ *to fight*, we have ܩܪܒܐ *fighting*, but very rarely ܩܪܒܬܐ; from ܟܚܕ *to marry*, ܟܚܕܐ *marrying*, but not so often ܟܚܕܬܐ.

It is to be noted that, while the signification of the masculine and feminine forms, standing by themselves, is nearly or quite the same, their construction with other words is somewhat different. Thus, ܠܡ ܡܬܐ ܫܬܝܐ and ܠܡ ܫܬܝܬܐ convey the same idea, viz., *for drinking water;* and yet ܫܬܝܐ and ܫܬܝܬܐ cannot be interchanged in these expressions without doing violence to the idiom of the language.

In all cases the masculine form is the same with the infinitive after it has lost its prefix. Thus we have, from ܠܶܡܕ *to learn*, ܠܸܡܘܕ; from ܫܡܥ *to hear*, ܫܡܘܥ, etc. A careful examination of the various uses of this derivative, which will be explained in the Syntax, leads us to suppose that it is properly the infinitive itself.

NOTE.—This form is evidently traceable to the ancient infinitive. Schultens and some other grammarians speak of the ancient infinitive as taking this form (Hoff., p. 172, foot-note 2), which, if true, may throw light on the question. Moreover, this form is used in translating such expressions as ܥܒܕ ܥܒܘܕܐ (modern ܥܒܘܕ ܥܒܕܐ), where ܥܒܕ is of course the infinitive. The infinitive is used in a way similar to the so-called verbal nouns in Turkish and Persian, which languages may be supposed to have exerted some, though perhaps slight, influence in moulding the Modern Syriac verb; e. g. içmek için *for drinking* (Turkish); برای کار کردن *for doing business* (Persian). This will be farther discussed in the Syntax.

From verbs of the second class, an abstract noun is formed, which, when regular, takes ◌ܶ (or ◌ܲ when the root has ◌ܲ) on the first radical, and ◌ܝ on the second radical (unless ◌ܵ follows, when the vowel is ◌ܶ), with the termination ◌ܵܐ. The derivative is of course feminine; e. g. from ܐܒܕ *to destroy* is formed ܐܸܒܕܝܵܐ *the act of destroying;* while, as above, ܗܲܐܒܕܵܐ, from ܐܲܒܕ *to perish*, signifies the consequences of the act, i. e. *destruction.* From ܦܲܨ *to save, to complete*, is formed ܦܲܨܝܵܐ *the act of completing* or *saving;* while ܦܨܵܐ, from ܦܨ *to finish*, denotes simply *the end.* From ܨܒܘܥ we have ܨܒܘܥܵܐ; from ܦܘܩܕ, ܦܘܩܕܵܐ; from ܒܪܟ, ܒܪܟܬܵܐ; from ܥܒܕ, ܥܒܕܵܐ; from ܟܢܫ *to assemble* (tr.), ܟܢܫܵܐ; from ܡܕܒ, ܡܕܒܵܐ; from ܡܫܚ, ܡܫܚܵܐ; from ܡܠܟ, ܡܠܟܘܼܬܵܐ. ܫܘܒܚ also, in this, conforms to verbs of the second class, and makes ܫܘܒܚܵܐ.

NOUNS FROM FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

So many words have been introduced into Modern Syriac from the Turkish and Persian, the latter being often introduced through the Koordish, that at least an allusion should be made to them. Among these are nouns with the Turkish termination ـجى (جى), denoting the agent or worker; e. g. ـجى *a blacksmith,* from *iron;* ـجى *a shoemaker,* from *a shoe;* ـجى *a mediator,* from *an interval;* ـجى *a combatant,* from *a contest.* So, too, with the Persian termination ـكار (كار); e. g. *an artificer,* from *a master workman;* ـكار *a penitent,* from *repentance;* ـكار *a criminal,* from *a crime.* Both these classes are employed as if genuine Syriac nouns, and may form abstracts in ـيا. Thus, we have *the business of a blacksmith;* *repentance,* etc.

We find also occasionally the Persian termination ـدار (دار), denoting the keeper or possessor; e. g. *a treasurer,* from or *treasure;* *a wise man,* from *wisdom;* *a merciful man,* from *mercy.*

As in Persian and Turkish, the termination ـستان (ستان) signifies *place.* Thus, *Arabia;* *India;* *Europe,* or the place of the Franks.

So too we find the Persian termination ـدان (دان), signifying *a vessel;* as *a pen-case,* *a tea-pot,* *a coffee-pot,* etc.

There are other terminations more rarely heard, as in *a goldsmith;* *a rich man;* *a gardener;* (Turkish) *a native,* from *a place.*

Perhaps it is not strange that in some instances the preceding terminations should be connected with purely Syriac

words, as they are sufficiently numerous in the spoken language to create a habit of annexing them without discrimination. The following is an example: ܟܘܣܝܓ *a miller*, instead of ܟܘܣܢܐ.

The Persian words ب *not*, and بی *without*, when prefixed to nouns and adjectives derived from that language, retain their original signification; e. g. ܒ ܣܦ *not well, unwell;* ܒ ܣܦ *boundless.*

Note 1.—It will be seen that, in some of the preceding terminations, ܐ has been dropped, as not being sounded in Syriac. بی has also generally been written ܒ rather than ܒܝ.

Note 2.—While many words taken from the Persian, Turkish, and perhaps other languages, have been barbarously mangled, some changes are made in them in accordance with the genius of the Syriac. Such are: 1st. The lengthening of the penult, which has always the accent; e. g. شفقت *grace*, Syriac ܫܦܩܬܐ. 2nd. The adding of ܐ as a termination; e. g. ܨܒܥܐ *a picture*, from the Persian شکل. 3rd. The euphonic changes of a vowel in consequence of this termination; e. g. ܒܛܝܚܐ *a melon-field*, instead of ܒܛܝܚ. 4th. The substitution of ܦ for the *f*- sound wherever it occurs.

Note 3.—Notwithstanding the multitude of foreign words introduced into Modern Syriac (of which many more are nouns than verbs, as is the case in the ancient language, and as we should naturally expect), it is worthy of remark that the language has preserved in a good degree its identity, and its own grammatical structure. There are indeed cases where, for instance, the Turkish perfect participle is dragged bodily into a Syriac sentence. Thus, ܐܬܦܨܥ ܐܬܝ *he became injured.* So, too, the Persian نیست *there is not*, which the Nestorians use to express annihilation; e. g. ܐܬܦ ܢܝ *he became annihilated*, or *he vanished.* These liberties, however, are not very common; and it may safely be affirmed that the Modern Syriac has in this respect fared better than the Ancient did at one period, from the influx of Greek idioms. We never find such a mingling of languages, to take an example from Sir William Jones, as "The true lex is recta ratio, conformable naturæ, which, by commanding, vocet ad officium, by forbidding, a fraude deterreat."

NOTE 4.—We have been obliged to introduce a number of words from the English. We, however, first draw on the Modern Syriac, so far as in the current meaning of its words, or by accommodation, it will serve our purpose. In case we meet with difficulty there, we go to the Ancient, which has been very useful in furnishing us with scientific and other terms; next, to the Persian or Turkish, the former having the preference, as being by far the more cultivated of the two; and, last of all, to our own language. If this is not always the rule, it always ought to be.

COMPOSITION OF NOUNS.

The Modern Syriac, like the Ancient and the Hebrew, does not favor the extensive use of compound words. The influence which the study of the Greek by the Nestorians had on their language has long since passed away; and though some of the compounds formed in imitation of the Greek are still retained, there is no tendency to increase the number. As examples of the compound nouns now in use may be mentioned, ܫܢܐ ܕܦܝܠܐ *ivory;* ܩܠܐ ܕܩܠܐ *an echo,* literally *the daughter of the voice;* ܩܠܐ ܕܐܨܒܥܐ *a thimble,* literally *the daughter of the finger;* ܚܛܝܬܐ *black-faced,* i. e. *guilty;* ܙܟܝܐ *white-faced,* i. e. *innocent.* Compound nouns and adjectives have also been introduced somewhat from other languages; e. g. ܒܝܫ ܓܘܢܐ *bad color;* ܬܚܘܡܐ *a boundary;* and ܡܟܘܠܐ *a cellar;* all of which are from the Persian.

ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives undergo a change of termination, corresponding with the change of gender and number.

GENDER.

Adjectives which are purely Syriac, and indeed nearly all which end in ܐ, form the feminine singular by changing this termination into ܬܐ; e. g. ܫܦܝܪܐ *beautiful,* the feminine of which is ܫܦܝܪܬܐ; ܙܥܘܪܐ *small,* feminine ܙܥܘܪܬܐ.

A few adjectives ending in ܐ form their feminine by changing ܐ into ܐ. Thus, we have ܚܕܐ, feminine ܚܕܐ; ܥܘܪܐ *blind,* feminine ܥܘܪܐ; ܟܕܟܐ *dumb,* feminine ܟܕܟܐ; ܒܕܝܐ *bold,* feminine ܒܕܝܐ; ܬܫܝܐ *energetic,* fem. ܬܫܝܐ. See what is said of ܓܒܪܐ, etc., where the gender of nouns is treated of.

The masculine and feminine plural are the same.

NUMBER.

The plural of adjectives is generally formed, like that of regular nouns, by changing the vowel ◌ of the last syllable into ◌̈, and writing the two dots called s'amee above the word.

There are some adjectives which do not admit of variation, either as regards gender or number; such as ܛܒ *good,* ܡܐܚܪ *late,* ܣܝܡ *straight,* ܐܝܟ *necessary* or *proper,* etc. These are usually borrowed from other languages, and do not end in ܐ.

CASE.

Adjectives in Modern Syriac undergo no change of case.

COMPARISON.

Adjectives are not compared by a change of termination, as in English, Persian, and many other languages. To express in Modern Syriac the idea: "This is larger than that," we use the phrase ܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܪܒܐ ܟܕ *this from that is great.* "That is smaller than this," is expressed by the words ܗܘ ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܙܥܘܪ ܟܕ, the literal translation of which is *that from this is small;* ܡܢ being used like *than* in English, as in other Shemitish languages.

A comparison is also frequently made by prefixing ܝܬܝܪ or ܣܓܝ to the adjective, when the idea is that of *excess;* as ܐܢܐ ܣܓܝ ܬܟܝܦ ܐܢܬ ܡܢ *I am stronger than thou.* So

ܟܰܠ and ܟܽܠ in Anc. Syr., and יוֹתֵר rarely in Hebrew. The superlative degree is expressed in several different methods:

1. By the article prefixed, when the connection shows what is intended. Thus, in speaking of a family, we may say ܙܥܘܪܐ ܗܘ *he is the small one,* i. e. the smallest. Compare the Hebrew (Nordh. § 790). In the Ancient Syriac, even the article or pronoun may be dispensed with. See 1 Sam. 16 : 11, Gen. 42 : 13. So also rarely in the Modern, as Matt. 22 : 36.

2. By the use of ܟܠ, ܟܠܗ, or ܡܢ; e. g. ܗܘ ܛܒ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ *he is the best of them,* literally, *from all of them he is good.* So for ܟܠܗ we may substitute ܟܠ, or for ܡܢ ܟܠ, ܡܢ; e. g. ܗܘ ܛܒ ܡܢ ܗܘ *from them he is good.* This, it will be seen, is properly the comparative form. See ancient usage in Matt. 13 : 32.

3. The superlative is sometimes formed, as in the cognate languages, when a word is repeated and put into what we may call the genitive plural; e. g. ܩܘܕܫܐ ܩܕܫܝܢ *Holy of holies;* ܫܡܝܐ ܫܡܝܐ *heaven of heavens;* ܥܒܕ ܥܒܕܝܢ (anc. ܥܒܕ ܥܒܕܝܢ) *servant of servants;* ܡܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ (ancient ܡܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ) *King of kings.*

4. A kind of superlative is formed by adding ܟܬ or ܕܩ to the positive; e. g. ܟܬ ܙܥܘܪ or ܕܩ ܙܥܘܪ *very minute.* Sometimes both are used together, to increase the intensity; e. g. ܟܬ ܕܩ ܙܥܘܪ *exceedingly minute.*

DERIVATION OF ADJECTIVES.

1. Adjectives are formed by changing the final ܐ of nouns into ܝ, or, when they do not end in ܐ, by adding ܝ; e. g. ܒܗܝܪ *bright,* from ܒܗܪܐ *light;* ܡܝܢܝ *watery,* from ܡܝ *water;* ܚܝܠܝ *powerful,* from ܚܝܠ *power;* ܓܒܪܝ *mighty,*

from ܘܕܝ *might;* ܥܦܪܢܐ *dusty,* from ܥܦܪ *dust.* This class of adjectives is very numerous.

2. They are formed by changing the termination ܐ into ܝܐ or ܢܝܐ; e. g. from ܫܠܡܐ *peace,* ܫܠܡܝܐ *peaceful;* from ܫܡܝܐ *heaven,* ܫܡܝܢܝܐ *heavenly;* from ܐܪܥܐ *earth,* ܐܪܥܢܝܐ *earthly.*

3. They are formed by changing the termination of adjectives into ܢܝܐ. Thus, from ܣܡܘܩ *red,* we have ܣܡܘܩܢܝܐ *ruddy;* from ܫܚܡ *black,* ܫܚܡܢܝܐ *blackish.*

4. Diminutives, which are often terms of endearment, are formed from adjectives in the same way as from nouns; e. g. ܙܥܘܪܢܐ, from ܙܥܘܪ *small;* ܫܦܝܪܢܐ, used as a noun, *little beauty,* from ܫܦܝܪ *beautiful;* ܕܩܝܩܐ, from ܕܩ *minute,* etc.

5. A great number of perfect participles, belonging to intransitive verbs of the first class, are used as adjectives in both genders and numbers: ܫܟܝܟ *decayed,* from ܫܟܟ *to decay;* ܚܕܝܕ *sick,* from ܚܕܕ *to sicken, be sick;* ܥܒܝ *thick, stubborn,* from ܥܒܐ *to be thick, stubborn;* ܕܟܝ *pure,* from ܕܟܐ *to be* or *become pure;* ܡܬܝܩ *sweet,* from ܡܬܩ *to be* or *become sweet.* So is it in Anc. Syr. to a more limited extent (Hoff. § 87, 10).

Sometimes the adjective is distinguished from the participle by taking ـ over its first radical; e. g. ܫܚܝܐ *lean,* from ܫܚܐ *to be* or *become lean;* while the participle is ܫܚܝܐ; ܫܦܝܪ *pleasant,* from ܫܦܪ *to be pleasing to;* the participle is ܫܦܝܪ; ܪܟܝܟ *soft,* from ܪܟܟ *to be* or *become soft;* participle ܪܟܝܟ; ܒܛܝܠ *idle* or *vain,* from ܒܛܠ *to be* or *become idle* or *vain;* participle ܒܛܝܠ. Compare, in Anc. Syr., ܒܛܝܠ and ܒܛܝܠ.

In both these classes of verbal adjectives, the signification sometimes differs from that of the root; e. g. ܚܫܝܐ, which often means *slow*, from ܚܫ *to rest, be quiet.*

6. Adjectives denoting quality are formed from verbs, just as one class of nouns denoting the agent, by inserting ◌ܘ◌ between the second and third radicals and giving ◌ܐ to the first and last; e. g. ܠܘܡܕܐ *apt to learn*, from ܠܡܕ *to learn*; ܣܘܦܪܐ *swift*, from ܣܦܪ *to run*; ܚܕܘܬܢܐ *passionate*, from ܚܕܬ *to be* or *become angry*; ܫܚܘܪܝܐ *sour*, from ܫܚܪ *to be* or *become sour*; ܛܘܦܣܐ *skittish*, from ܛܦܣ *to be* or *become skittish.*

The same word is frequently used both as a noun and an adjective; but this gives rise to no new forms, and it is easy to know in a particular case whether the word is used as an adjective, by the connection.

NUMERALS.

1. *Cardinals.*—These are so nearly like the cardinals of the ancient language, that they may be readily recognised. A list of them is given below, as they are used in Oroomiah, and printed in our books.

ܚܕ one.	ܐܚܕܥܣܪ eleven.	ܥܣܪ ܘܚܕ twenty-one.
ܬܪܝܢ two.	ܬܪܬܥܣܪ twelve.	ܥܣܪ ܘܬܪܝܢ twenty-two.
ܬܠܬ three.	ܬܠܬܥܣܪ thirteen.	ܬܠܬܝܢ thirty.
ܐܪܒܥ four.	ܐܪܒܥܥܣܪ fourteen.	ܐܪܒܥܝܢ forty.
ܚܡܫ five.	ܚܡܫܥܣܪ fifteen.	ܚܡܫܝܢ fifty.
ܫܬ six.	ܫܬܥܣܪ sixteen.	ܫܬܝܢ sixty.
ܫܒܥ seven.	ܫܒܥܥܣܪ seventeen.	ܫܒܥܝܢ seventy.
ܬܡܢ eight.	ܬܡܢܥܣܪ eighteen.	ܬܡܢܝܢ eighty.
ܬܫܥ nine.	ܬܫܥܥܣܪ nineteen.	ܬܫܥܝܢ ninety.
ܥܣܪ ten.	ܥܣܪܝܢ twenty.	ܡܐܐ one hundred.

٢٠٠ two hundred.	٧٠٠ seven hundred.
٣٠٠ three hundred.	٨٠٠ eight hundred.
٤٠٠ four hundred.	٩٠٠ nine hundred.
٥٠٠ five hundred.	١٠٠٠ one thousand.
٦٠٠ six hundred.	

NOTE.—In the mountains of Koordistan the cardinals still more closely resemble those anciently used. From one to ten inclusive they have both the masculine and feminine genders; and in some of them, the same apparent anomaly exists as in the Ancient Syriac and the Hebrew (Hoff. § 99, 1, and Nordh. § 611), of masculine numerals joined with feminine nouns, and feminine numerals with masculine nouns. A few are given as a specimen:

Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.
٢	٢	٦	٦
٣	٣	٧	٧
٤	٤	٨	٨
٥	٥	٩	٩
٦	٦	١٠	١٠

The expressions ٢ ٢, ٢ ٣, ٢ ٤, etc., like ٢ ٢, ٢ ٣, etc., in Anc. Syr., denote, respectively, *double, triple, quadruple,* etc. So we have also ٢ ٢ *twice as much;* ٢ ٣ *three times as much.* ٢ ١/٢, ٢ ١/٣, ٢ ١/٤, etc., denote the fractions *one half, one third, one fourth,* etc. The words ٢, ٢, etc., seem to have become obsolete.

The Modern Syriac uses the Persian word ٢ (كاه) *time,* to express *once, twice, thrice,* etc. Thus, ٢ ٢, ٢ ٢, ٢ ٣, just as we find ٢ in the Ancient Syriac. Sometimes the word ٢ *a foot,* is used; e. g. ٢ ٢, ٢ ٢. So in Hebrew ٢. So, too, ٢ (سفر)

a journey; e. g. ܗܵܕܵܐ ܙܒܢܵܐ ܒܫܦܪ ܥܒܕܬ, *this time* (literally *journey*) *I slept well.* The Persian word ܟܪܬ (كرّت) is sometimes used in the same way.

NOTE.—It has been supposed that the above mentioned use of the word *foot* in these languages is derived from the beat of the foot in music. This is probably a mistake. It is applied to travelling, and not to other things. Thus, we may say "I came two feet," i. e. two times; but not "I read two feet." So in the Turkish, they say "I came two roads," with the same signification. ܦܵܥܵܐ, as noted above, is used in a more extended sense.

The cardinals also take suffixes; as, for example, ܬܪܝܢ or ܬܪܝܢܝ *both of us;* ܬܪܝܢܟܘܢ, ܬܪܝܢܟܝܢ *both of you;* ܬܪܝܢܗܘܢ, ܬܪܝܢܗܝܢ *both of them;* ܬܠܬܝܢܝ *all three of us;* ܬܠܬܝܢܟܘܢ, ܬܠܬܝܢܟܝܢ *all three of you;* ܬܠܬܝܢܗܘܢ, ܬܠܬܝܢܗܝܢ *all three of them.* Similar forms are used up to ܥܣܪ, inclusive, and are nearly the same in Oroomiah and Koordistan. It may be remarked here that *all of us* is expressed by ܟܠܢ or ܟܠܬܝܢܝ; *all of you,* by ܟܠܟܘܢ, ܟܠܟܝܢ, ܟܠܗܘܢ, ܟܠܗܝܢ, etc.

Distributives, as in Anc. Syr., are formed by a repetition of the cardinal numbers; e. g. ܬܪܝܢ ܬܪܝܢ *two by two,* etc., though they are now often connected with ܘ, as, ܬܪܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ. So in Hebrew (Nordh. § 947).

2. *Ordinals.*—The original termination, which, added to the cardinal, made it an ordinal, has been lost in Oroomiah, with a single exception. This is ܩܕܡܝܐ masc., ܩܕܡܝܬܐ fem., denoting *first.* Sometimes we use others, as in the gram. term ܦܪܘܣܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܢܬ *third person;* but they are taken from the ancient rather than from the current usage. The other ordinals are formed by prefixing ܕ to the cardinal. Thus, ܕܬܠܬ ܟܦܪ *the third village;* ܕܥܣܪ ܟܪܟܐ *the tenth line.* This was also used in the ancient language: Matt. 16 : 21.

The names of the days of the week are as follows:

ܚܕ ܒܫܒܐ	Sunday.	ܚܡܫ ܒܫܒܐ	Thursday.
ܬܪܝܢ ܒܫܒܐ	Monday.	ܥܪܘܒܬܐ	Friday.
ܬܠܬ ܒܫܒܐ	Tuesday.	ܫܒܬܐ	Saturday.
ܐܪܒܥ ܒܫܒܐ (ܕܘܟܬܐ)	Wednesday.		

In Koordistan, Tuesday is ܬܠܬܐ ܒܫܒܐ. The names of the other days are the same.

ADVERBS.

The ancient termination ܐ̣ܝܬ of adverbs is still occasionally retained in our books, and is heard more or less in Koordistan, but is not at all used in common conversation in Oroomiah. Many of the adverbs and adverbial expressions given below are identical with those in the Ancient Syriac, while many others are of more recent origin, or borrowed from other languages. An attempt is made to classify them; but such an attempt must always be somewhat unsatisfactory, as the same adverb in one connection may be an adverb of place, in another, of time, etc.

M. signifies that the adverb is used only in the mountains; P., that it is of Persian, T., that it is of Turkish, and K., that it is of Koordish, origin; A., that it is from the Ancient Syriac; Ar., that it is from the Arabic. As might be expected, many of these have been modified and corrupted.

1. *Adverbs of Place and Order.*

ܐܝܟܐ	where? where.	ܬܚܝܬ	below, beneath.
ܠܐܝܟܐ	A. whither? whither.	ܠܬܚܝܬ	A. downwards.
ܡܢܐܝܟܐ	whence? whence.	ܒܬܪ	A. behind.
ܗܳܟܳܐ	here.	ܠܐܚܘܪ	A. backwards.
ܠܗܳܟܳܐ	A. hither, here.	ܓܘ	A. within.
ܡܢܗܳܟܳܐ	hence.	ܠܗܳܟܳܐ ܠܗܳܟܳܐ	A. this way.

ܗܳܟܳܐ	A. that way.	ܩܰܕܡܳܝ	A. first.
ܒܰܪ ܒܰܪ	A. without.	ܪܚܺܩ	far.
ܥܠ ܥܠ	up, above.	ܡܶܢ ܪܚܺܩ	A. from afar.
ܠܥܠ ܠܥܠ	A. upwards.	ܪܳܫ ܒܪܫ	A. headlong.
ܒܡܨܥܬܐ	A. in the midst.	ܬܡܳܢ	there, thither
ܩܪܺܝܒ	A. near.	ܠܬܡܳܢ	A. thither.
ܩܰܕ	A. before.	ܗܰܠܝܢ	yonder.
ܠܩܰܕ	A. forwards.		

2. *Adverbs of Time.*

ܗܳܫܳܥܬܐ	now.	ܒܰܬܪ	after.
ܥܕ ܗܳܫܳܥܬܐ	until now.	ܡܢܰܬܪ	after.
ܡܢܗܳܫܳܥܬܐ	henceforth.	ܡܶܢ ܒܰܬܪ	A. after.
ܡܢܗܳܫܳܥܬܐ ܠܒܰܬܪ	henceforth.	ܒܰܬܪ ܗܳܟܳܐ	afterwards.
ܡܶܢ ܩܕ ܗܳܫܳܥܬܐ	before now.	ܡܢܰܬܪ ܗܳܟܳܐ	afterwards.
ܗܰܢܳܐ	A. to-day.	ܫܢܳܐ	last year, next year.
ܗܰܝܟ	then.	ܒܪܰܡܫܳܐ	in the evening.
ܡܢܗܰܝܟ	P. from that time.	ܒܰܪܗܺܛ	quickly.
ܗܰܝܟ	(εἶτα) then, thereupon.	ܡܶܢ ܒܰܪܗܺܛ	P. long ago.
ܗܳܫܟܳܐ	A. to-night.	ܗܰܐ ܐܰܢܳܐ	behold me here.
ܐܰܝܟܰܢ	when? when.	ܡܰܛܝ	P. late.
ܥܕ ܐܰܝܟܰܢ	A. how long?	ܡܰܚܰܪ	P. immediately.
ܐܰܝܟ ܡܰܢ	A. at what time?	ܗܳܫ	M. now.
or ܐܰܝܟ ܡܰܢ (as vulgarly spoken)		ܗܰܝܢ	K. M. slowly.

ܠܥܠܡ	P. never, ever.	ܡܢܕ ܕܢ ܡܢܕ ܕܢ	A. again. A. again.
ܥܕ	A. until.	ܡܢܕ ܗܢ	
ܗܫܐ	P. now, while as yet.	ܡܢܕ ܗܢ	M. again.
ܩܕܡܝܐ	first.	ܡܢܕ ܗܢ	A. suddenly.
ܠܥܠܡ	P. always.	ܡܢܕ ܗܢ	P. & T. suddenly.
ܟܕ	A. while, while as yet.	ܡܫܟ	A. slowly.
ܒܗܝ ܙܒܢܐ	A. at that time, then.	ܙܒܢ ܣܓܝ	A. & P. many times, often.
ܗܐ ܗܢ	there he is.	ܡܢ ܡܢ	A. to-morrow, yesterday.
ܫܥܬ ܒܥܓܠܐ ܫܥܬ	a little (time). presently.	ܡܢ ܡܢ	A. to-morrow (morning).
ܙܒܢ ܙܒܢ ܣܓܝ ܙܒܢ ܙܒܢ ܣܓܝ	A. & P. sometimes. sometimes.	ܩܕܡ ܩܕܡ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ	A. before. before. before.
ܒܣܘܦ	A. at last.	ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܗܫܐ	before now.
ܟܡܐ ܙܒܢ	A. how often, as often.	ܩܕܡܝܐ	A. at first.
ܟܡܐ ܙܒܢ ܣܓܝ	A. & P. how often? how often.	ܒܩܕܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܗܫܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ	A. at first. A. before now.
ܟܕ	A. when, while, etc.	ܐܬܡܠ	A. yesterday, to-morrow.
ܫܥܬ	M. a little (while).		
ܒܫܚܪܐ	at dawn.		

3. *Adverbs of Manner and Quality.*

ܒܠܚܘܕ	A. especially.	ܒܠܚܘ	only.
ܟܡܐ ܫܓܝ	so much.	ܒܣܘ	P. finally, in a word.
ܗܦܟ ܗܦܟ	T. topsy-turvy.	ܒܬܪ ܒܬܪ	A. more, again. M. more, again.
ܐܦ ܠܐ	A. also.	ܐܝܟ	A. as, like as.
ܐܝܕ ܒܐܝܕ	T. (hand by hand) quickly.		

ܒܠܚܘܕ T. only.

ܗܐ ; ܗܐ (when one is called) here I am.

ܗܟܝ P. then, now then, therefore.

ܝܬܝܪ , ܝܬܪ P. more.

ܒܠܝܫ P. doubtless.

ܒܚܕܐ ܒܚܕ T. scarcely.

ܐܠܥܠ P. perhaps.

ܒܟܝܠ K. M. freely.

ܒܣ P. enough.

ܒܕܒܪ ; ܒܕܒܪ P. together.

ܐܝܟ (vulgar ܐܝܟܐ) how? like as.

ܟܝܢ T. evenly, correctly.

ܒܫܪܪܐ P. truly.

ܐ A. yes (ܐܝ).

ܒܛܠ P. in vain.

ܒܫܬܝܩܐ P. quietly, gently.

ܗܟܢ ; ܗܟܝ ; ܗܟܢ ; ܗܟܝ A. so, thus; so much; so, thus; so much.

ܒܟܝܢ P. certainly (vulgarly ܒܟܝܢ).

ܠܐ P. at all, not at all.

ܐܦ P. also.

ܐܝܟܐ K. M. so many.

ܒܫܠܝܐ P. easily.

ܒܛܠ K. M. in vain, freely.

ܒܬܪ P. exactly.

ܗܟܝ so, thus.

ܥܘܕ P. more.

ܒܣܡ K. M. certainly.

ܒܣܘܦ A. at last.

ܠܒܣܘܦ A. at last.

ܒܕܒܪ ; ܒܕܒܪ A. together; together.

ܡܕ T. freely, in vain.

ܒܥܠ a little.

ܒܥܠ ܒܥܠ a very little.

ܒܟܠ P. in short.

ܠܐ ; ܠܐ A. let it not be so; let it not be so.

ܒܕ A. badly.

ܠܡܐ M. why?

ܐܝܟ (ܕ) A. would that.

ܐ yes (to a question put negatively).

ܒܟܝܢ P. certainly, truly.

ܒܝܢ P. to wit, namely.

ܒܟܠܠ	K. quite, completely.	ܠܡܢܐ ܠܡܢܐ	why? why?
ܠܐ	not.	ܣܓܝ	Ar. hard.
ܟܠ	quite, completely.	ܡܛܠ	M. quite.
ܟܡܐ	A. how much, how many?	ܐܦ	Ar. never, not at all.
ܠܐ	A. no, not.	ܡܐ(ܕ)ܡܐ	peradventure.
ܠܘܬ	let it be so.	ܣܓܝ	A. much.
ܒܟܝܢ	P. truly.	ܒܫܝܠܝ	P. with ease.
ܐܠܐ	P. unless.	ܒܬܡܗ	P. perfectly.
ܒܣܘܕ	A. verily.	ܒܫܘܠ ܒܫܘܠ	P. A. after a sort.
ܐܝܟܢܐ	M. how? how.	ܠܘܡܐ	T. would that.
ܒܟܘܠܗ	together (vulgar ܒܟܘܠܗ).	ܒܟܝܢ ܒܟܝܢ ܒܟܝܢ	truly. in truth.
ܒܫܠ ܒܫܠ ܒܫܠ	A. quietly. very quietly.	ܒܟܡܐ	P. about, nearly.
ܒܝܫ	A. badly, ill.		
ܫܦܝ	K. well.		

Remarks.

The preceding list of adverbs and adverbial expressions might no doubt be extended, especially by noting down adjectives used in an adverbial sense, such as ܩܠܝܠ *lightly*, ܟܒܝܕ *heavily*, etc. On the other hand, there are no doubt words in the preceding list which are not adverbs, and which are classed here, partly for convenience, and partly because other grammarians have placed them here. Indeed, without a most careful attention to derivation, one can hardly arrive at certainty on this point. We should not criticise a Latin grammarian for calling *utinam* an adverb, but we should hardly consider the corresponding *would that* as an adverb. The ancient ܫܐ (חוס) is no doubt a verb, and yet, as at present used, partakes more of the nature of an adverb. It is spoken, as given above, ܫܐ ܟ or ܫܐ ܠ.

As to the derivation of these adverbs, it is by no means certain that they are all referred to the right source, and it would occupy much space if each one were to be discussed individually; a few only will be alluded to.

In the modern lang., we find ܗܳܟܳܐ, ܟܳܐ ܗܳܟܳܐ; in the ancient, ܟܳܐ. In Koordistan, we often hear ܟܳܐ ܗܳܟܳܐ ܕܳܐ *just here;* with which compare ܕܳܐ ܐܳܦ (*is ipse*), etc., in the ancient (Hoff. § 45, Annot. 5). Again, in the modern, we find ܟܳܐ ; in the ancient, ; in the modern, ; in the ancient, . ܐܳܟܳܐ is in some parts of Koordistan pronounced ܐܳܟܳܣ, which probably throws light on its derivation. ܐܳܟܳܐ, ܐܳܟ ܟܳܐ may be ܐܳܟ ܡܳܢܳ, etc., ܐܳܟ being used with masculine as well as feminine nouns, as stated previously. ܐܳܟ is no doubt ܐܳܬ ܟܳܐ, a mongrel word, although ܟܳܐ is now pretty well naturalized in Syriac. In the modern, we find ; in the ancient, . In the modern we find ; in the ancient, . We also now hear occasionally .

ܗܳܟܳ and ܗܳܟ might perhaps better be classed with verbs than adverbs. ܗܳܟܳ is regularly inflected in all the persons and in both numbers, like ܐܳ *I am.* Thus, ܗܳܟܳܬ *here thou art;* ܗܳܟܳܢ *here they are.* Sometimes ܗܳܟܳ is joined with it; e. g. ܗܳܟܳ ܗܳܟܳ *here he is.* ܟܳ, referring always to distant objects, can be used only in the third person; e. g. ܟܳ *there she is;* ܟܳ *there they are.* ܗܳܟܳ is probably a corruption of ܗܳ, and ܗܳ in its turn of ܐܳ, ܗܳ *this:* ܡܳܢܳ is probably from ܡܳܢ *to happen.* ܬ, etymologically speaking, should be written with ; but as the *t* is aspirated in some districts, it seems most proper to use ܬ.

It will of course be understood that these adverbs may many of them be combined to form a new adverbial expression. Thus, ܥܕ *until*, and ܐܳܟ *where*, when combined (ܥܕ ܐܳܟ), denote *until where*, i. e. how far?

The Nestorians have no adverbs for *almost, too much, too far*, etc. *Almost* is expressed by a circumlocution. Thus, if we wish to say "he almost died," we use the phrase ܫܠܝܠ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܢܡܘܬ, literally, *a little remained that he should die.* So if we wish to say "too much," we say ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܩܠܝܠ *more than is necessary* or *proper*. *Next*, whether an adjective or adverb, is expressed indirectly, some additional words being supplied to give definiteness to the meaning. In hearing a class recite, if we wish to call on the next, we say ܗܘ ܕܒܬܪ *that other*. *Next week* is ܫܒܘܥܐ ܕܐܬܐ *the coming week*. *Last week* is ܫܒܘܥܐ ܕܥܒܪ *the week that* (just) *passed*. In the same way we can express *last month, last year*, etc.; though for the latter there is the word ܫܢܝܢ.

Some of these adverbs in common conversation are abbreviated, as is the case with words in all languages. Thus, ܐܝܟܐ ܐܝܟ *where is he?* becomes ܐܝܟ ܐܝܟ. ܡܢ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܠܥܠ *henceforth* (literally, *from now to after it*) becomes ܡܢ ܗܫܬܐ ܘܠܥܠ. So too, ܡܢ ܗܝ ܘܠܥܠ *thenceforth* (literally, *from then to after it*). These might with propriety be written with final ܐ.

A word of explanation is necessary in regard to the adverbial expressions ܘܠܥܠ and ܥܡ. ܥܠ and ܥܡ are properly prepositions, and have the suffix-pronouns connected with them. Thus, to express the idea "I am going backwards," we should say ܐܙܠ ܐܢܐ ܥܡ ܘܠܥܠ, literally, *I am going towards after me*, i. e. backwards. So we say ܐܙܠ ܐܢܐ ܥܡ ܘܠܥܠܟ *I am going towards after you*. The usage is the same in regard to ܥܡ. It is only when the nominative and the suffix-pronoun refer to the same person, that the expression can be called adverbial. Compare the use of ܥܡ and ܒܣܝܕ in the ancient language. (See John 18 : 6, Lam. 1 : 8, Jer. 7 : 24, etc.). Instead of using the suffixes, we have sometimes written ܥܡܗ and ܘܠܥܠܗ; and these are heard more or less among the people.

ܥܠ sometimes takes suffixes, as in the phrase ܐܬܒܠ ܥܠ ܥܕ ܠܐܝܕܗ *he got wet until his here*, i. e. up to a place indicated by the hand. So does ܥܡ; e. g. ܒܣܝܕ ܥܡܟ *enough for you.*

PREPOSITIONS.

It will be sufficient in this sketch of Modern Syriac grammar to give a list of the most common prepositions, and expressions equivalent to the prepositions of other languages. They are as follows:

ܠܘܬ, ܠܘܬ — A. according to.

ܠܓܘ — A. (equivalent to ܥܠ, not much used).

(ܒ)ܣܒܝܒ — A. around.

ܒ — A. in, by means of, etc.

ܒܝܕ — in, by, etc.

(ܒ)ܓܢܒ ܒ — A. along by.

(ܒ)ܓܢܒ ܓܢܒ — M. along by.

ܒܠ — P. without.

ܒܥܕ — A. about, concerning.

(ܒ)ܒܥܒ ܫܘܒܐ — A. for the sake of.

ܒܝܢ — A. between, in the midst of, including.

(ܒ)ܒܫ — in regard to, concerning.

(ܒ)ܒܓܘܒܝ — T. among.

(ܒ)ܒܕܡܘܟ — A. P. over against.

(ܒ)ܒܬܪ — A. after.

ܒܬܪ ܕ — P. except.

ܓܘ — A. inside of.

(ܒ)ܓܘܓ — A. in the midst of.

(ܒ)ܓܡܬ — M. beside.

ܕ — A. of.

ܕܠ — A. without.

(ܒ)ܓܢܒ — beside, by the side of.

(ܒ)ܕܡܘܟ — A. P. against, opposed to.

ܡ ܡܢ — from (pronounced *ham*).

ܥܕ — A. until.

(ܒ)ܣܒܒܝܒ — A. around.

ܠܓܘ — M. for.

ܠ — A. to.

ܠ — towards.

ܠܘܬ — towards, up to, near.

ܠܘܬ — towards, up to, near.

ܡܢ ܠܘܬ — away from (French *d'avec*).

ܠܬܚܘܬ ܡܢ — A. under.

ܠܥܒܪ ܡܢ — A. to the other side.

ܡܢ — A. from (vulg. *with*).

(ܒ)ܒܓܘܠ — Ar. instead of.

ܒܠ — P. except.

(ﻪ) ﻣﻦ ﺣﺪ } A. instead of. ﻣﺤﺪ }

(ﻪ) ﺑﺤﺪ P. on account of.

(ﻟ) ﻣﻦ ﻗﺪﺍﻡ } A. before. ﻗﺪﺍﻡ }

ﻣﻦ ﻗﺪﺍﻡ } A. away from.

ﻋﻞ } A. on, upon, etc. ﻣﻌﻞ } A. off from, away from.

(ﻪ) ﻋﻞ A. about, in regard to.

ﺑﺮ A. with.

ﺣﻮﺭﻱ ﻣﻦ except.

ﺑﺮ ﻣﻦ except

ﻓﻮﻕ ﻣﻦ A. above.

ﺗﺤﺖ A. under.

(ﻪ) ﺑﻴﻦ (ﺩ) A. in the middle of.

ﻣﻦ ﺗﺤﺖ A. away from under.

ﻟ for.

Remarks.

ﺩ, ﻪ, and ﻛ never, as in the ancient language (e. g. ﺑﺪﻗﻄﻠ, ﻛﺪﻗﻄﻠ, etc.), take a vowel. Several prepositions are frequently joined together, especially if one of them is ﻣﻦ. These prepositions, in accordance with the analogy of the ancient language, receive suffixes, and are also followed by the separable pronouns, as in the expression ﺣﻤﺼﺒﺖ ﻣﻦ ﻫﻮ *I asked from* (of) *him.*

A number of the prepositions, when joined with nouns, require ﺑ, ﻛ, or ﻣﻦ after them, and may be considered in such cases as having a doubtful claim to a place among prepositions. When they take suffixes, however, these are dispensed with; e. g. ﻗﺎﻡ ﻋﻠﻴﻨ ﺑﻨﻲ ﻗﺎﻡ ﻋﻠﻴﻨ *he rose against us;* ﻗﺎﻡ ﺑﻨﻲ ﻗﺎﻡ ﻋﻠﻴﻪ *he rose against Simon.* In the last example, ﺑ is required. Those prepositions which occasionally thus employ ﺑ, ﻛ, or ﻣﻦ, have one of these placed after them in a parenthesis in the above list. ﺗﺤﺖ is connected with its suffix by ﺑ as sliding letters; e. g. ﺗﺤﺘ ﺑ *on our account.* So ﻗﺪﺍﻡ and ﻛﻘﺪﺍﻡ, by ﻛ; e. g. ﻛﻘﺪﺍﻣﻚ *towards thee.*

ﻋﻞ, ﻣﻦ, etc., are often pronounced *ullit, minit,* etc. The following is probably the explanation of it. The Ancient Syriac

idiom has been retained in the spoken language, though not introduced into our books, by which the preposition takes a suffix and ܒ also; e. g. ܡܢܝܬ ܒܥܓܠ quickly pronounced will be *minit umma;* ܒܪܝܬ ܒܥܫܘ will be *barit ēshoo*, etc. These remarks apply to quite a number of the prepositions.

ܥܡ and ܥܡܟ ܥܡ are no doubt reduplications of the preposition ܥ. Thus, we have in the ancient language, e. g., ܥܡ ܥܡܝܫܘܥ.

Besides ܥܡ, we have in the modern such expressions as ܥܡܗ ܥܡܠ *along with her*, ܥܠ ܟܐܦܐ ܥܠ *along upon the wall*, ܒܡܥܪܐ ܒܗ ܒܣܝܬ *along in the valley*. With these compare the ancient ܥܡ ܝܫܘܥ ܥܡ ܒܗ *along with Jesus;* and similar expressions. Compare also Hoff. §123, 5, a, b.

ܥܡܐ is possibly formed from ܥ and ܡ, as we still find in Koordistan an ancient form ܥܠܡܕ *in regard to what he said*, equivalent to the form used in Oroomiah, ܒܗ ܐܡܪ. If this supposition be correct, ܥܡܐ should be written ܥܡ.

ܥܡ in Ancient Syriac is ܥܡܢ, ܥܡܐ, or ܥܡ. ܒܥܡܐ and ܒܡܥܐ, like ܒܟ, may be partly Syriac and partly Persian, the prepositions ܒ and ܡ being prefixed to ܥܡܟ of the Ancient Syriac.

ܠ takes its suffixes in so many ways, that they are worthy of special notice. Thus, to express in Modern Syriac *for me*, we may say ܠܝ, ܠܝܢ, ܠܟ, ܠܟ and ܠܝܟ. So, *for thee*, ܠܟ, ܠܟ, ܠܟ, ܠܟ, ܠܟ. The same peculiarity is found in all persons and both numbers. In Koordistan, the people say ܠܟ, ܠܗ, etc.; in Bootan, ܠܟ, ܠܗ; near Mosul, ܠܟ, ܠܗ.

CONJUNCTIONS.

ܐܢ P. if.
ܐܦ A. also.
ܐܝܟ A. as.
ܐܠܐ but.
ܐܠܐ A. but (ἀλλά).
ܐܢ A. if.
ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ A. if not, unless.
ܐܦܠܘ A. although.
ܐܟܠ Ar. T. but, but yet.
ܒܬܪ ܕ A. in that, because.
ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ nevertheless.
ܒܗܝ P. then, therefore.
ܕ A. that, in order that; (sometimes *because*, as John 4 : 22).
ܕܠܐ A. that not, lest.
ܕܟ T. also.
ܕܡ P. also.
ܘ A. and.
ܘܟ K. also.
ܐܘ ܐܦ ܐܘ or.
ܐܝ either.
ܡܛܠ ܕ P. because.
ܡܛܠ ܕ A. yet, but yet.
ܡܢ A. than.
ܡܛܠ ܕ P. because.
ܐܦ ܕ T. although.
ܒܕ ܗܘ for that, in order that.

INTERJECTIONS.

It should be understood that these interjections are not all classical, and that some of them may be called vulgar. But they are most of them in every-day use, and it is well to be acquainted with them.

ܐܐ why, pretty well!
ܐܢܐ not I! Oh!
ܐܘܝ alas!
ܐܘܝ ܠܝ woe is me!
ܐܝ alas!
ܐܘܫܥܢܐ huzzah, hurrah!
ܐ O!
ܐܝܠܘ halloo!
ܐܝܟܐ Oh strange!
ܐܝ ܠܝ woe is me!
ܐܫ hush!
ܒܟ well done!
ܒܪܟܘ bless, O God! (Ar.); (vulgarly, *well done!*).
ܗܒ push on! away! up!
ܐܦ ܗܒ away with you!
ܐܗ ah me!
ܐ wonderful!
ܗܐ behold!
ܗܐ ho!
ܗܒ push on!
ܫܘ tush!
ܐ O!
ܐ ܪܒ Ar. O Lord! (generally used as a serious interrogative).
ܒܟܘ well done!
ܫܬܘ silence!
ܦܐ poh!
ܐܦ pshaw!
ܐܘ woe!

SYNTAX.

It is by no means proposed here to reduce to a complete system the Syntax of the Modern Syriac; but merely to direct attention to some of its principal features. It may be stated, in general, that the relations in which words stand to each other are extremely simple, and present no serious obstacle to the acquisition of the language. The Nestorians rarely use long or involved sentences; and, indeed, the deficiency of their language in particles, compared with our own, almost precludes their doing so. While the structure of the language is thus unfitted for philosophical or mathematical precision, it is in many respects an excellent language for the business of every-day life, and we have no reason to complain that, as spoken by educated natives, it greatly lacks either dignity or force. It may also be added, that, considering the scantiness of its vocabulary, we are obliged to use circumlocutions less than would be expected.

THE ARTICLE.

It should be understood, as has been already intimated, that there is no emphatic state of nouns in the Modern Syriac, supplying in some degree the place of a definite article. Indeed, multitudes of nouns have taken the emphatic state as their ordinary form, and there is a strong tendency to suffix ܐ to all nouns which are derived from other languages; e. g. Turkish [?] كل, Modern Syriac ܟܘܠܐ *a buffalo;* Persian ماست, Modern Syriac ܡܣܬܐ *curdled milk;* Arabic مسكين, Modern Syriac ܡܣܟܝܢܐ *poor.*

In general, the pronouns ܗܘ, ܗܝ and ܐܢܘܢ are used for the definite article, but with far less latitude than ה in Hebrew. They are also omitted in multitudes of cases where *the* is employed in English; e. g. ܐܢܬܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܕܗܟܐ ؟ *were* (the) *men of* (the) *village there?* ܬܪܝܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ *two times in* (the) *day;* ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܘ *when* (the) *world*

tempt me; ؟ ܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܐܬܝܬ *whence came you?* ؟ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ *from* (the) *city;* ؟ ܐܝܟ ܐܦ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܣܘܣܝܐ *have you brought him out* (the) *horse?*

Even in cases where the article in English denotes pre-eminence, as *the sun, the sky, the world,* etc., the Syriac omits it.

The definite article may be prefixed to an adjective, when separated in construction from its noun, or referring to a noun understood. This is quite a common idiom. For example, ܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ *the great* (man) *came to-day.* In such cases the adjective is really used as a noun. In the ordinary construction of a qualifying adjective, it never takes the article, whether the noun it qualifies has one or not. Such expressions as in Hebrew הָאָרֶץ הַטּוֹבָה, הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת could not be admitted.

NOTE.—It need hardly perhaps be remarked that an adjective used as a predicate never takes the article. This is of course founded on the general principles of language, the predicate adjective being abstract and in some degree indefinite. Thus, in Hebrew, Greek and English it does not take the article; in Anc. Syriac it does not take the emphatic state (Hoff. § 118, 2); in German, Greek, etc. it is not necessarily inflected to agree with its noun. This is also true to some extent in Modern Syriac. Thus, we may say, for "These men are free," either ܐܢܫܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܚܪܝܪ ܠܐ or ܐܢܫܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܚܪܝܪܐ ܠܐ; in the latter case the adjective being in the singular.

The suffix-pronoun sometimes in a manner supplies the place of the definite article in English; e. g. ܟܠܗ ܒܝܬܐ *all of it* (the) *house, the whole house,* while ܟܠ ܒܝܬ denotes *any house, every house.* So in Anc. Syr. (Hoff. § 123, 4). See both constructions in Rom. 3 : 19, ܟܠ ܦܘܡܐ and ܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ.

The indefinite article ܚܕ, ܚܕܐ is prefixed less frequently than our indefinite article, but more frequently than in the ancient language (Hoff. § 109, 4). Take the following as an example of its use: ܚܕ ܓܒܪ ܩܐܡ ܒܟܢܘܫܬܐ *a man rose in the meeting.* In the following example it would naturally

be omitted: ؟ ܚܙܝܬ ܓܒܪܐ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ *did you see* (a i. e. any) *man on the way?* Sometimes the employment or omission of it is optional; e. g. ܐܝܬܝܠܗ ܠܙܒܢܐ ܣܘܣܝܐ *he brought a horse to sell,* literally, *for selling,* or ܐܝܬܝܠܗ ܣܘܣܝܐ ܠܙܒܢܐ.

. Sometimes ܡܕܡ *a thing* is annexed to another noun with much the force of an indefinite article; for example, ؟ ܚܙܝܬ ܟܠܒܐ ܡܕܡ *did you see a dog?* We should suppose this to mean *did you see a dog or any thing of the kind?* but the natives translate it as above.

In accordance with English usage, general nouns denoting material, such as wood, silver, etc., abstract nouns, and nouns with a suffix pronoun, as ܒܝܬܝ *my house,* do not take the indefinite article.

RELATION OF NOUNS TO NOUNS.

The usages of the Modern Syriac in regard to apposition, the government of one noun by another, etc., are so simple that it is unnecessary to dwell on them. Two or three peculiarities only will be noticed.

The noun ܛܠܦ *side* sometimes follows another noun in construction, to denote direction; e. g. ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܛܠܦ *to the city-side,* i. e. in the direction of the city; so ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܛܠܦ *from the vicinity of the city.* The word is also used figuratively; e. g. ܡܢ ܠܚܡܐ ܛܠܦ *in respect to bread.*

There is an elliptical mode of speaking in common use, which will be understood by one or two examples. Thus, ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܓܒܪܐ ܐܙܠ, literally, *a house, a man went,* i. e. one from each house; ܛܠܝܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ *a boy, a pen he has,* i. e. each one has one.

It has been already mentioned that the construct state is still employed to some extent, though the tendency is to dispense with it altogether, and use ܕ in its stead, as we use

the preposition *of* in English. This ܕ is omitted in expressions such as ܐܢܫ ܐܝܟ ܓܒܪ *what kind* (of) *man*, not only ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫ, but the general form, corresponding with the idiom of the Persian and Turkish. Though educated Nestorians generally speak with grammatical correctness, it may be worth while to note as an exception the almost universal use of ܒܢܝ as if it were the singular and not the plural; e. g. ܗܘ ܒܪ ܒܝܬ ܥܕܠܐ *he is a son* (i. e. inhabitant) *of Degala.*

Nouns, as well as other words, are often repeated: (*a.*) to denote distribution or variety; e. g. ܐܝܟ ܐܝܟ *kinds, kinds*, i. e. different kinds; ܓܘܢܐ ܓܘܢܐ *colors, colors*, i. e. different colors; so with numerals: ܚܕ ܚܕ *one, one time*, i. e. now and then; so adverbs: ܡܫܡܫ ܡܫܡܫ *slowly, slowly*, i. e. little by little; (*b.*) to give intensity; e. g. ܫܒܪܐ ܫܒܪܐ *fragments, fragments*, i. e., as we should say, a thousand fragments; ܙܥܘܪ ܙܥܘܪ *exceedingly*, ܙܥܘܪ ܙܥܘܪ *very little indeed;* (*c.*) to supply the place of *each, each one;* e. g. ܓܒܪ ܓܒܪ *man, man*, i. e. each man. This last usage is rather borrowed from the ancient language than commonly heard, but we allow it a place in our books. In regard to the general idiom, compare the Ancient Syriac (Hoff. § 112, 2), and the Hebrew (Nordh. § 823).

There is also a curious, though perhaps vulgar, repetition of nouns, which is common to the Persian, Turkish, Armenian, and perhaps other languages of the East. In the repetition ܣ is substituted for the first letter of the word, if it begin with a consonant, or ܣ is prefixed, if it begin with a vowel. The idea is thus generalized; e. g. from ܙܒܠ *dirt*, we have ܙܒܠ ܣܒܠ *dirt and every thing of that sort;* from ܕܩܩܐ *minute*, ܕܩܩܐ ܣܩܩܐ *every little thing*, e. g. ܠܐ ܣܚܫܒ ܒܟܠ ܕܩܩܐ ܣܩܩܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ *do not esteem*, (literally, put a price on) *the trifles of the world.*

ADJECTIVES.

A qualifying adjective in Modern Syriac, in the great majority of instances, as in Ancient Syriac (Hoff. §118, 1), and in Hebrew (Nordh. § 770), follows its noun; e. g. ܓܒܪܐ ܣܒܐ *old man*, ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܫܦܝܪܬܐ *beautiful city*. The same rule holds where two or more epithets are joined to one noun: ܒܝܬܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܪܡܐ *a large and high house*. Also when the noun has a suffix, as ܢܡܘܣܗ ܬܩܝܦܐ *his firm law*. So in the ancient language (Hoff. § 122, 3).

A few adjectives more naturally precede their nouns; e. g. ܣܓܝ, ܛܒ, ܫܦ, etc., the latter being called an adjective, though in reality a noun (Nord. § 725, 1). Thus, ܣܓܝ ܣܘܣܝܐ *many horses*, ܛܒ ܐܝܠܢܐ *a good tree*. In these cases ܣܓܝ ܣܘܣܝܐ and ܛܒ ܐܝܠܢܐ would be also allowable.

An adjective may be placed before its noun to give increased emphasis; e. g. ܣܓܝ ܪܒܐ ܟܐܦܐ *a very great stone*. Another mode of giving emphasis, is to place the adjective at the head of the clause, and, after a brief pause, to repeat it; e. g. ܦܩܝܚ ܗܘ ܦܩܝܚ ܒܝܫ ܗܘ ܒܝܫ *quick to learn, he is quick to learn; but wicked, he is wicked.*

A qualifying adjective in the modern language cannot be separated, as in the ancient (Hoff. § 118, Annot. 2), from its noun by words such as ܫܦܝ, ܡܢ, etc.

An adjective used as a predicate is also almost always placed after the noun or pronoun to which it refers; e. g. ܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܥܬܝܪ *that man is rich*, ܠܚܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܚܡܝܥ *the bread is sour*. The ancient language generally places the adjective before its substantive in such a case (Hoff. § 118, 2). So the Hebrew (Nordh. § 772). An inversion of the ordinary

construction may, however, be employed for emphasis; e. g. ܫܦܝܪ ܗܘ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܗܘ very agreeable is he, ܒܪܝܟ ܗܘ ܒܝܬܟ blessed is your house.

In regard to the demonstrative adjective pronouns, when used to qualify nouns, they are always placed before their nouns; e. g. ܗܢܐ ܟܠܒܐ this dog, ܗܠܝܢ ܚܡܪܐ these donkeys, ܗܢܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܒܝܫܐ to this wicked man. When the construction is different, we have followed the idiom of the Ancient Syriac or the Hebrew (Hoff. § 118, and Nordh. § 884).

Cardinals also uniformly precede their nouns; in which respect the Modern Syriac is unlike the Ancient (Hoff. § 117, I). In the latter language they sometimes precede, sometimes follow. The Modern resembles more the Hebrew (Nordh. § 935) and English. In this also we have at times changed the idiom, as Gen. 11 : 1. Such expressions as ܒܬܪ ܫܢܝ ܫܢܝܢ in the ancient language would not now be at all allowable.

SUBJECT NOMINATIVE AND VERB.

In general, the verb agrees with its subject nominative in number and person. There are, however, constructions *ad sensum*, as in the Ancient Syriac and most other languages, the mere grammatical form being neglected (Hoff. § 137).

When the subject nominative is of different persons, the rule found in Latin, Greek, and other languages, has place, that the first person is preferred to the second, and the second to the third. Thus, ܐܢܐ ܘܐܢܬ ܢܐܙܠ you and I will go, ܐܢܬ ܘܗܘ ܐܬܝܬ you and he came.

Verbs are often used impersonally, and then the feminine gender is employed, as a representative of the neuter gender in other languages; e. g. ܟܒܫܬ ܫܥܬܐ ܬܪܝܢ it drew (i. e. it occupied) two hours, ܒܝܫܐ ܗܘ it is bad, i. e. a bad thing, ܕܚܠܬ ܠܟ it is a fear to you, i. e. you are afraid (note, that ܕܚܠܬ is a vulgar and anomalous form of ܕܚܠ),

ܗܘܬ ܠܢ ܕܚܠܬܐ *it was a fear to us,* i. e. we were afraid. If the origin of the preterite tense has been correctly explained in the Etymology, we have in this example a curious reduplication, as will be seen by spelling ܗܘܬ with final ܐ, ܗܘܬ ܠܢ ܕܚܠܬܐ.

The feminine is in such cases always preferred; and yet, when translating from Anc. Syr., which uses the masculine as well as the feminine verb impersonally (Hoff. § 138, 3), we have sometimes followed that, rather than the spoken language; e. g. Matt. 13 : 40. See the same use of the feminine verb as an impersonal in Hebrew (Nordh. § 737, 2). Indeed, this disrespectful use of the feminine gender for an indefinite thing, results from the ideas of Orientals.

Note.—ܐܝܬ ܠܢ, in which case the verb is used impersonally and in the masculine, is hardly an exception to the general rule, as it has almost lost its power as a verb, like *if*=*gif*=*give*, in English.

In this connection may be mentioned such expressions as ܗܘܬ ܠܝ ܠܒܐ *there became to me a heart,* ܐܬܐ ܥܠܝܢ ܪܚܡܘܗܝ *there came on us his pity,* i. e. pity for him; where the verb seems first to be used impersonally, and then a masculine nominative to come in as an after-thought. This change of construction is not without its force, and may be at times preferable to the regular form.

The nominative absolute is very common in Modern Syriac, sometimes used emphatically, and sometimes without any such design; e. g. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ : *Christ, he is mighty,* ܐܒܘܟܘܢ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܗܘ ܢܕܒܪ ܠܟܘܢ *your father, his hand will guide you,* ܗܢܐ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܗܘ ܐܦ ܗܠܟ : *this Jacob, he also will go.* In these cases, it is emphatic; but it can hardly be considered so in the following example: ܐܦ ܢܗܪܐ ܗܘ ܢܫܬܢܐ ܡܫܟܘܬܗ : *the rivers, their course would change,* which is simply saying, 'the course of the rivers would change.' See the same idiom in Anc. Syr. (Hoff. § 119), in Hebrew (Nordh. § 866, 1, b.), and in other languages.

On the other hand, the nominative is omitted altogether, when regarded as indefinite; as, for example, when ܐܢܫ or ܐܢܫܐ might be supplied. This usage, not uncommon in the Ancient Syriac (Hoff. § 138, 4), is far more common in the Modern, and is a substitute, as mentioned in the Etymology, for the passive verb; e. g. ܓܒ ܩܛܠ ܠܢ *men oppress us*, i. e. we are oppressed.

PREDICATE NOMINATIVE.

The proper place for the predicate nominative, with its qualifying words, is between the subject nominative and its verb; e. g. ܣܟܠܘܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܗܝ ܣܟܠܘܬܐ *drunkenness is great folly.* The rule, however, is variable. We may say, with a kind of emphasis, ܣܟܠܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܪܒܬܐ ܣܟܠܘܬܐ; the change of the usual construction, as in other cases, giving more force to the words.

VERB ܗܘܐ *TO BE.*

This is rarely omitted, the Modern Syriac differing in this respect from the Ancient Syriac (Hoff. § 146, 3), and the Hebrew (Nordh. § 701, 1, b.). Yet we at times find such examples as the following, some of them perhaps transferred by us from the ancient language, and others in universal use: ܐܒܢ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܒܘܢ *our father that in heaven,* ܕܬܚܝܬ ܫܡܝܐ *that under heaven,* Eph. 6 : 12, ܒܡܪܘܡܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ (let there be) *glory to God,* ܗܘ ܡܩܪܐ ܠܟ *he* (is) *calling you,* ܠܩܪܝܢ ܐܝܬ (it is) *necessary to read.*

Note.—The verb of existence is not omitted with the corresponding words ܟܘܬ and ܦܘܟ, nor always with ܐܝܟ. A person, in assenting to a remark, often says ܡܠܬܟ *your word*, for ܡܠܬܟ ܫܪܝܪ ܐܢܐ or ܡܠܬܟ ܫܪܝܪ ܐܢܐ.

OBJECT OF THE VERB.

The objective is often denoted, as in the Anc. Syr., by ܠ prefixed (vulgarly ܠܠ), and especially when intended to be definite; e. g. ܚܙܝܬ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܗܘ *I saw* (to) *that man.* But in a sentence like the following: ܐܫܟܚܬ ܟܝܣܐ *did you find a purse?* it is neither needed nor allowed. In common conversation it is also often dropped, for the sake of brevity, where we should expect to hear it. Like את in Hebrew (Nordh. § 835), ܠ does not seem to be so much a sign of the accusative, as to be used for directing special attention to any subject.

ܠ may also denote, as in Anc. Syr. (Hoff. § 114, 1), the same relation as the dative in Western languages; e. g. ܦܠܚܬ ܠܡܪܝ ܚܢܐ *I did service to the Khan;* ܗܒ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܬܦܚܐ *give to him that apple.* In this last example, ܠܗܘ *for him* would be perhaps more common. The idea may also be expressed without any preposition, as in Anc. Syr. (Hoff. § 122, 1): ܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܫܥܬܐ *he gave me a watch.*

Some verbs, as e. g. those of naming, clothing, anointing, asking, commanding, feeding, teaching, telling, filling, etc., are often followed by two objects, of which one generally, though not always, signifies a person. The noun denoting a person may have ܠ prefixed, but the other noun very rarely takes it, if at all; e. g. ܐܠܒܫ ܠܝܠܕܐ ܗܘ ܟܣܐ *he put clothes on that boy;* ܗܢܐ ܒܪܝ ܩܪܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܘܝܕ *this my son I will call him David;* ܢܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܚܩܠܐ ܗܕܐ ܟܪܡܐ *the field we will make it a vineyard.* The ancient language has very nearly the same usage (Hoff. § 141, 4, 5).

It may be well to remark that in many cases, where in English and other Western languages an object is viewed as direct, in Syriac it is regarded as indirect, and *vice versâ.*

This leads to the employment or omission of prepositions, in a way very different from the usages of our own language; e. g. ܡܠܝܬ ܡܝ ܒܢܐ ܗܘ *you filled the vessel* (with) *water*; where the Syriac also admits of ܒ or ܡܢ; ܥܠ ܡܢ ܬܪܥܐ ܥܠ *he entered from* (by) *the door*; ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܗ *we told for him*; ܡܫ ܒܢ ܒ *he touched on us*; ܐܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܬܚܢܢ ܥܠ *if God show favor from* (to) *you*; ܢܣܒ ܥܠ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ *they will ascend* (above) *us*; ܢܫܩ ܡܢ ܝܕܝ *he kissed from my hand*, i. e. he kissed my hand. The modern language is, however, no more unlike the English in these respects than the ancient.

PRONOUNS.

The nominatives ܐܢܐ, ܐܢܬ, etc., are not generally expressed before the verb, unless for the sake of specification or emphasis, as the terminations of the verb prevent all ambiguity in regard to number and person. When emphasis is required, these pronouns are oftener placed after the verb than before it; e. g. ܡܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܢܐ ؟ *what am I to do, I?* ܐܡܪܬ ܐܢܬ ؟ *did you tell, you?* Sometimes the pronoun both precedes and follows: ܐܙܠ ܐܢܐ ܐܦ ܐܙܠ *we will go, we too.*

The pronoun, used as a subject nominative, and indeed any nominative, is occasionally separated by an intermediate clause from its verb; e. g. ܐܙܠ : ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܐܬܝܬ : ܚܙܐ *they, before you came, saw.* The Modern Syriac, however, generally favors the simplest construction.

The pronoun is often employed as an absolute nominative, in the same manner as nouns; e. g., with the impersonal verb of existence, ܠܝ ܠܝ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ or ܐܢܐ ܠܝ *I, there is not to me*, i. e. I have not; ܐܢܬ : ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܦܬܚܐ *you, there will not be to you opportunity*; ܐܦ : ܬܣܒܪܘܢ ܕܐܢܐ

he, his mercies are many; ܗܘ ܣܓܝܐܢ ܪܚܡܘܗܝ : ܚܢ ܟܣܝܢ ܠܢ *but we, they blame us.* See Matt. 26 : 11, and compare the ancient version. See also Hoff. § 121, 1.

It is to be noted that the very common idiom of the ancient language and the Hebrew, by which the pronoun takes the place of the substantive verb, finds no favor in the Modern Syr., in Oroomiah at least, though it is said to be heard sometimes in Koordistan (Hoff. § 121, 2). Nor is ܐܝܬ used pleonastically in the modern as in the ancient language (Hoff. § 123, 1); e. g. ܕܐܝܬ ܐܡܪ ܚܕܐ ܡܢ ܢܫܐ, 1 Tim. 5 : 9.

The governing noun in the modern as well as in the ancient language (Hoff. § 122, 2), may take the suffix which seems more properly to belong to the noun which it governs; e. g. ܒܝܫܬܗ ܕܒܝܫܝܗ *your way of evil,* or ܒܝܫܬܗ ܕܒܝܫܝܗ; ܡܘܬܟܘܢ ܕܦܓܪܐ *your death of the body,* or ܡܘܬܟܘܢ ܕܦܓܪܟܘܢ. The latter forms are the more common.

It is a universal practice to use pleonastically the suffix pronoun, followed immediately by the noun to which it refers. Thus, ܚܙܝܬ ܐܢܬ ܐܬܬܐ *I saw her, the woman;* ܕܚܫܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ *we drove them away, the men.* Compare the ancient ܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ, and many similar expressions (Hoff. § 123, 3). The idea seems to be the same, whether the pronoun is used or not. In Hebrew, this has been considered an emphatic suffix (Nordh. § 866, 2, a), but we do not so regard it as used by the Nestorians.

On the other hand, the suffix is entirely omitted when the meaning is sufficiently plain without it; e. g. ܐܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ *he came and told* (it) *for me.*

The suffixes are in some cases used as reflexives; e. g. ܐܙܠ ܐܒܥܐ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܟ ܣܦܪܐ *I will go and ask for me* (for myself) *a book.* See an example in both Ancient and Modern Syriac, John 4 : 8.

As the relative particle ܕ undergoes no inflection, many ideas, which we express directly in English, must in Modern Syriac be expressed by a circumlocution. A few examples will be given below. Examples of the same kind may be found in Hoff. § 125, Nordh. Chap. IX. and Rosen. Arab. Gramm. Syntax, XCVIII.

1. *Whom.*—ܐܢܐ ܝܘܣܦ ܐܚܘܟܘܢ ܕܙܒܢܬܘܢܝ ܐܬ ܗܘ *"I am Joseph your brother, that ye sold me,"* Gen. 45 : 4; ܗܢܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܗܘ *this is the man that I spoke about him.*

2. *Which.*—ܓܢܬܐ ܕܢܨܒ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܗܘ *a garden that he had planted it;* ܡܪܕܐ ܕܥܒܕܬ ܒܗ ܗܘ *the spade that I worked with it.*

3. *Whose.*—ܢܣܛܘܪܝܐ ܕܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܙܙܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܥܝܪܐ *the Nestorians of the mountains, that* (men) *plunder their cattle.*

4. *Place where.*—ܟܦܪ ܕܦܪܩܢ ܒܗ ܗܘ *a village that I unpacked* (encamped or halted) *in it;* ܐܬܪ ܕܗܘ ܐܝܬ ܬܡܢ *a place that he was there.*

5. *Whither.*—ܟܪܡܐ ܕܐܙܠܬ ܠܗ ܗܘ *the vineyard that you went into it.*

6. *Hither.*—ܬܘܪܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܢ ܠܗ ܗܘ *an ox that we brought hither.*

7. *Whence.*—ܒܐܪ ܕܫܬܘ ܡܢܗ ܗܘ *a well that they were drawn from it.*

8. *When.*—ܝܘܡ ܕܗܘ ܡܪܝ ܥܒܕܐ ܗܘ *a day that in it I was lord of business,* i. e. busy.

In some of the preceding cases, ܕ may express the idea without the pronoun or adverb following. Thus, for "a day," etc., we may say ܝܘܡ ܕܗܘ ܡܪܝ ܥܒܕܐ, there being an ellipsis of ܗܘ.

As in the ancient language (Hoff. § 125, 1, Annot.), it may denote the objective case of the relative. For instance, ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܚܙܐ *every thing that he may see.*

The relative ܕ may often be rendered definite, as in Ancient Syriac (Hoff. § 125, 3) and Hebrew, by ܡܕܡ *a thing,* ܡܠܬܐ *a word,* ܓܒܪܐ *a man,* ܗܘ *he,* etc., prefixed: ܠܐ ܬܬܢܫܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܡܪ *do not forget the thing that he tells;* ܠܐ ܝܕܥܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܗܘ ܠܐ *you do not know him who is coming.*

In Hebrew (Nordh. § 907), as in English, and in Ancient Syriac to a very limited extent (Hoff. § 125, 4), the relative may be omitted; e. g. *a house* (which) *he built two years ago.* But ܕ seems to be never omitted in Modern Syriac, except when used as a conjunction.

It may be well to give a few examples to illustrate the use of the interrogative and indefinite pronouns, and the position they occupy in the sentence. We may say either ؟ ܡܢܐ ܡܕܡ ܗܢܐ ܠܟ, or ؟ ܡܕܡ ܗܢܐ ܠܟ ܡܢܐ, *what is this?* ؟ ܡܢ ܐܢܬ ܗܢܐ ܐܬܬܐ ܚܝܠܬܐ, or ؟ ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܐܬܬܐ ܚܝܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܠܟ, *who is this woman?* ؟ ܡܢ ܐܢܬ ܠܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܢ ܐܢܬ, or, instead, ؟ ܡܢ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܬ, or simply ؟ ܡܢ ܐܢܬ, *who art thou?* ؟ ܠܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܬܘܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܢܬ, or ؟ ܠܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܬܘܪܐ ܕܐܢܬ, or ؟ ܠܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܬܘܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܢܬ, *whose ox is this?*

The interrogative pronouns may be used, as in Ancient Syriac (Hoff. § 45, 2, Annot. 4) and Hebrew (Nordh. § 921), as indefinite pronouns. For example, in the expressions: ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ *I do not know who he is,* ܡܢ ܢܚܘܐ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܐܙܠ ܗܘ *he will inform you who went,* ܠܐ ܚܙܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ *he did not see which* (of the two) *it was.*

Very often ܓܒܪܐ without the article is used where we should use, in English, *any one,* as in the Anc. Syr. (Hoff.

§ 127, 4): ؟ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܕ ܒܟܦܪܐ *is there any one in the village?* Sometimes ܚܕ may be omitted, and yet the idea be clearly and idiomatically expressed; as ܒܗ ܒܒܝܬ ܣܦܪܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܡܝ *in the school there is not like him* (his like). ܚܕ is also now and then used to denote *each one;* as, ܦܙܪܘ ܚܕ ܠܒܝܬܗ *they scattered, man* (each man) *to his village.* So in the ancient language (Hoff. § 127, 3). But generally, when thus used, it is repeated, as already mentioned.

MOODS AND TENSES OF VERBS.

Though the ordinary signification of the different moods and tenses was given in the Etymology, some additional remarks are necessary to illustrate their use.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.—This is sometimes used: 1. As a perfect; e. g. ܩܪܐ ܗܘ ܒܗܢ ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ *he is reading here three years.* 2. As a future; e. g. ܐܙܠܢ ܒܬܪ ܫܒܘܥܐ *we are going after a month.* So in Gen. 6 : 17, where, in the modern language, we have the present tense, and in the ancient the active participle.

Imperfect Tense.—This is sometimes used: 1. As a present; e. g. ܛܒ ܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܕܬܣܒܪ *it was* (is) *better that you should preach.* 2. As a future; e. g. ܐܙܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܫܟܚ *he was going* (intending to go) *in the morning;* the implication being that he is now prevented. 3. As an imperfect subjunc.; e. g. ܐܢ ܠܟ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܛܒ ܗܘܐ ܠܟ *if you should be a good man, you were* (would be) *blessed.* 4. As a pluperf. subjunc.; e. g. ܛܒ ܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܐܙܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܟ *it was* (would have been) *better, if you had gone.*

Preterite Tense.—1. Used as a present; e. g., a man in distress says ܡܝܬ *I died,* i. e. I am dead; ܚܢܩ *I choked,*

i. e. I am choked, or I am drowned. A boy in recitation, if confused, will say ܐܟܬܠܢ ܒܟ *it lost on me*, i. e. I have lost it. Ask a man how his business is to-day, and he may reply ܗܘܐ ܗܟܝܢ ܩܐܡ *it remained* (remains) *just so*. Persons coming to make a petition will tell us ܒܥܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܟ *we poured* (i. e. we now place) *our hope on you*. Compare Anc. Syr. (Hoff. § 129, 4, b, c). Compare also Ps. 1 : 1, in the Ancient and the Modern. The expression in the Ancient, ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ, Matt. 12 : 30, may be considered equivalent either to a present indicative or to a present subjunctive. So Deut. 1 : 39, ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܗܘ *that did not* (do not) *know*.

2. Used as a perfect; e. g. ܐܬܐ ܗܫܐ *he came now*, i. e. he has just arrived. This is the common mode of speaking. So too, ܒܪܝܟ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܫܡܥ *blessed is he that never heard* (meaning, that has never heard). 3. Used as a pluperfect; e. g. ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ *when he* (had) *finished from speaking* (Hoff. § 129, 3). 4. Used as a future; e. g. ܐܢ ܡܝܬ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܡܚܪ ܐܒܕܬ *if you died to-morrow, you perished* (compare with the use of the first verb Hoff. § 129, 8, c, and of the second verb, same section, 7); ܐܢ ܗܝܡܢ ܐܢܬ ܗܫܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܡܚܪ ܢܣܒ *if you believe, Christ just now*, i. e. at this moment, *received* (will receive) *you*. This is no doubt an emphatic future. Compare Nordh. § 966, 1, c. 5. Used as a subjunctive present; e. g. ܐܢ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ *if it did not become*, i. e. if it does not meet the case, equivalent to ܐܢ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ (see the ancient usage, Mark 12 : 25, as follows: ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܝܬ, in which case the translation might have been literal); ܐܢ ܠܟ ܢܦܩ ܗܫܐ ܟܕ ܡܫܟܚ *if you went out* (set out) *now, perhaps you will reach*; ܐܢܐ ܡܬܥܡܐ ܒܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܟܠ ܐܢ ܠܟ ܢܡܘܬ *I am grop-*

ing after God, if perhaps I found (him). Compare the ancient usage in Ecc. 6 : 6, مَحْيَةَ كَدْ سَوْ, where سَوْ expresses the idea of contingency. 6. Used as a subjunctive imperfect; e. g. هُخَدْ حَمَكَدْ كَدْ هَمْحَمَكَدْ : حَطْ أُوكَ *although the business did not finish* (should not end), *I shall go;* أُوكَ هَمْحَمَكَدْ هُمْ حَطْ هُمْ مَحْيَةَ *if you destroyed* (should destroy) *us, you were* (would be) *just.*

The preterite seems never to be used in the modern language for an imperative, as in the ancient (Hoff. § 129, 6). It will not be thought strange that it is employed in such a variety of ways in the spoken Syriac, when we consider what an important tense it was in the structure of the old verb. Many of the idioms mentioned above give force and vivacity to the language. We are thus allowed to speak of events and actions which are present or future though definite, or future and contingent, as if they had actually transpired and were recorded in the past. On this account the preterite is often used in Hebrew in the language of prophecy. See also examples of its use in conditional clauses (Nordh. § 991, 1).

The other forms of the preterite given in the Etymology, هُمْ قُدْمِ, كَمْدَمِنْ, etc., have substantially the same meaning as the regular preterite, and may be used in the same way. The first named of these is ordinarily employed only when euphony requires it. See Etymology.

Perfect Tense.—This is used: 1. for the present; e. g. كَلْبَدْ كَدْ *he has sat*, i. e. is sitting; كَجَدْ كَدْ *he has wept*, i. e. (often) is weeping. This usage seems to be confined to a small number of verbs. 2. for the preterite; e. g. مَفَى كَمْلِ مِ كَلْكِدْ *we have come* (we came) *long ago.* This is the usual mode of speaking. Compare what is said of the preterite No. 2. 3. for the perfect passive. See Etymology, Passive Voice. Ambiguity may sometimes arise, as to the question whether the verb is used in an active or passive sive sense; but the context generally determines. We may translate, e. g., كَمْكَجَدْ كَدْ either *he is asleep, he has slept*, or *he has been asleep;* كَدْ وَدْمِنْ *they have sown*, or *they are sown.*

Pluperfect Tense.—This is sometimes used: 1. for the imperfect; e. g. ܗܘܳܐ ܒܟܳܐ *he was weeping,* ܗܘܳܐ ܝܬܺܒ *he was sitting.* 2. for the passive imperfect. This is very common. See Etymology.

Future Tense.—Whatever is peculiar in the use of this tense will be noticed under the Present Subjunctive. The second future is not very much used, a form of expression being chosen which renders it unnecessary; e. g., where in English we might say "before you come, I shall have arrived," a Nestorian would be likely to say ܐܬ ܐܟܺܝ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܝܡܟ *I shall arrive before you.*

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.—It should be distinctly borne in mind that what has been called in the Etymology the present subjunctive, is nothing more nor less than the ancient present participle, with fragmentary pronouns suffixed. The old future having disappeared, this present participle, with ܐܬ prefixed, becomes a future in Mod. Syr.; with ܠ prefixed, it becomes a future, or a generic present, expressed negatively; with ܩܕ (ancient ܩܕܡ) prefixed, it becomes a preterite; with ܟ or ܒ prefixed, it becomes a generic present; and without a prefix, it inclines to retain its original present signification. Remembering these facts, and the further fact that both in Ancient Syriac and in Hebrew, the future was much used as a subjunctive or conditional (Hoff. § 130, 4; Nordh. § 993), we shall not be surprised to find these different meanings shading into each other in the Modern Syriac. The following examples will illustrate the very different uses of this tense. Question, ؟ ܐܙܠ *am I going?* or *may I go?* Answer, ܐܝܢ ؛ ܐܙܠ *yes, you are to go,* or *you may go.* The question may thus be either a simple interrogatory, or a permission asked; and the answer is to be understood accordingly. If the answer is "you are to go," it is really a mild imperative. Compare our English "you may go and do so and so;" when we mean "you must go." This mode of speaking is very com-

mon, and in prayer is often interchanged with the imperative in the same sentence; e. g. ܡܪܢ ܐܬܐ ܘܫܪܐ ܥܡܢ ܠܥܠܡ *O Lord, come and abide with us!* Compare in Anc. Syr. 1 Kings 8 : 30. Comp. also the interchange of the future and imperative in Hebrew.

ܢܫܟܚ *let him find,* i. e. allow him to find, or he is to find. In this case, and very often to the third person, singular and plural, ܢܗܘܐ or ܬܗܘܐ may be prefixed; e. g. ܢܗܘܐ ܩܪܐ *let them read,* whereas above we may have the idea of permitting them to read, or of directing them, the circumstances and the connection determining what is intended. ܐܚܘܝ *let me tell you;* ܡܢ ܢܥܒܕ *what can we do?* ܐܡܘܬ ܙܥܘܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܪ ܙܥܘܪ *may I die a youth, it is true* (may I die young, if it be not true)—compare the Latin "ne sim salvus," may I perish!

The present subjunctive may be used to express a supposition, particularly if ܡܬܠܐ *a parable, a supposition,* is prefixed; e. g. ܡܬܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܥܒܕ ܫܘܩܐ *supposition: he finishes his business,* or *let him finish,* or *grant that he finish,* or *if he finish.* Compare the Latin "vendat ædes vir bonus," suppose, etc. So, too, without the word ܡܬܠܐ; e. g. ܠܐ ܬܠܦ ܠܐ ܢܦܩ *suppose you do not learn your lesson, you will not go out.* We may in this case say, if we choose, that ܕ is omitted, as in Hebrew (Nordh. § 991, 3, a). The imperfect subjunctive allows the same idiom.

The present subjunctive is used in prohibition, where the Ancient Syriac, the Hebrew, and the English would naturally use the future; e. g. ܠܐ ܬܓܢܘܒ *thou shalt not steal;* ܠܐ ܬܟܕܒ *thou shalt not lie.* ܠܐ ܓܢܒ would mean *thou wilt not steal,* or *you are not in the habit of stealing,* and ܠܐ ܗܘ ܓܢܒ would be an emphatic way of saying the same thing. See in Ety-

mology a notice of this last form. This distinction it is important to observe; otherwise we may be led into ludicrous blunders. Thus, a man speaking to me about his son in my employ, says ܠܵܐ ܟܦܝܢ *let him not be hungry;* to whom I reply, ܠܵܐ ܟܦܝܢ *he will not be hungry* (I will do well for him) or *he does not go hungry.*

Note.—With the use of ܠܵܐ and ܠܶܐ in this tense compare לֹא and אַל of the Hebrew, οὐ and μή of the Greek, and *non* and *ne* of the Latin. It is evident, however, that the resemblance is only a general one, and in the indicative does not hold at all.

It is to be remarked that we are not limited to the subjunctive present for expressing prohibitions, as those using the Ancient Syriac (Hoff. § 130, 4, c.) and Hebrew (Nordh. § 1006) were limited to the future. The imperative may be freely employed for that purpose, as ܠܶܐ ܓܢܘܒ *do not steal,* ܠܶܐ ܢܚܬ *do not go down,* etc.

The present subjunctive may be used also in entreaty; e. g. ܠܶܐ ܬܟܕܒ *I beg you not to lie;* ܠܶܐ ܙܒܢ *I beg you not to sell,* etc. Sometimes it is difficult to tell whether it is a command or an entreaty, as, e. g., if I call to a man pursued by a bull, ܠܶܐ ܬܩܛ *do not stop.*

In familiar conversation the ܕܢ of the future is often omitted, and then the form becomes that of the present subjunctive; e. g. ܐܶܙܠ ܐܶܙܠ : ܕܨܒܝ ܐܶܙܠ *if you wish* (that) *I go, I* (will) *go.* So Gen. 42 : 36, ؛ ܐܢ ܬܩܚ ܒܢܝܡܝܢ *and* (will) *you take Benjamin?* So, too, ܕ or ܠ is often omitted; e. g. ܐܶܩܪܵܐ ܠܶܐ ܗܵܟܝ ܗܘܵܐ : ܕܨܒܝ ܩܪܝ *I wish* (that) *I may read, but it is not happening* (coming about). Here a general desire is expressed to learn. With this we may compare the ancient present participle, which is also used for a generic present (Hoff. § 135, 3), as in Ecc. 2 : 14, where we must translate the ancient ܐܵܙܹܠ by ܕܐܙܠ. So ܐܵܚܹܕ, Is. 3 : 2; and many other cases. Moreover, the anc. present participle

is used for the future (Hoff. § 135, 3), which will account for such cases as that given above, viz. لَا يُحِبُّ لَا يُحِبُّ : لَا يُحِبُّ لَا يُحِبُّ.

يُحِبُّ and perhaps some other verbs, in their ordinary use, retain the force of the ancient participle; e. g. هٰذَا لَا يُحِبُّ يُحِبُّ *exactly now I wish,* where the idea is limited to the present moment.

The present subjunctive is occasionally used for a preterite indicative, as was the present participle (Hoff. § 135, 3, b) from which it sprung; e. g. وَيَسُوعُ لَا يَقُولُ *and Jesus saying* (said); لَا يَقُولُونَ *they said.* In these cases, the modern usage is almost a transcript of the ancient, لَا يَقُولُ being written for لَا يَقُولَ, and لَا يَقُولُونَ for لَا يَقُولُونَ.

It is not strange that these different idioms lead to ambiguity, which no acquaintance with the language will fully remove; e. g. نُغَنِّي بِنَغَمٍ حُلْوٍ نُغَنِّي may be translated "our sweet voices let us all raise," or "we do all raise," or "we will all raise." The perplexity thus caused, however, is as nothing, compared with the puzzling expressions we often find in Hebrew.

The usages are so simple in regard to what has been called the second present subjunctive, that no remarks need be made about them.

In a multitude of instances, the indicative or subjunctive may either of them be used to express an idea; but the subjunctive will express it as more contingent, as is true of the German and other languages; e. g. كُلُّ شَيْءٍ يَكُونُ *every thing that there may be,* for which we may substitute كُلُّ شَيْءٍ يَكُونُ, or كُلُّ شَيْءٍ يَكُونُ. So لَوْ كَانَ هُنَا, or لَوْ كَانَ هُنَا *if he be here,* or *if he is here.*

Imperfect Tense.—This is often used as an imperfect indicative, in accordance with the use of the ancient present participle, joined with كَانَ, from which it took its origin; e. g. وَيَسُوعُ كَانَ يَذْهَبُ كَانَ يُعَلِّمُ وَيَكْرِزُ *and Jesus was walking about and preaching.*

It is also used, as the imperfect subjunctive in Latin, for the pluperfect; and this is the common idiom in regard to a verb which follows a conditional clause, and which, in our language, would be in the pluperfect. We thus may say ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪܬ ܠܝ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ : ܠܐ ܐܬܝܬ *if you had told me, I should not be* (have been) *angry;* : ܐܢ ܫܡܥ ܫܡܥ ܐܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ *if he had heard, certainly he would* (would have) *come;* implying that he did not hear nor come.

This tense is also used with a negative, to imply what ought not to be; e. g. ܥܒܕܬ ܕܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܢ ܫܡܥ ܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܥܒܕܬ *you have done a thing that should not be done.* See Lev. 4: 13, 27, and compare the Ancient Syriac.

Perfect and Pluperfect Tenses.—It is unnecessary to say any thing further of these tenses than that they are not much used in common conversation, the Nestorians preferring to state their idea in another and more simple form, which they can in most cases readily do. When they are used, they correspond in general to the same tenses in the Latin.

ܩܕ has sometimes been prefixed to the tenses of the subjunctive in our books; but this is not in accordance with general usage in Oroomiah, and has of late been nearly or quite dropped.

SUBJUNCTIVE AFTER PARTICLES.

Much that might be said under this head has been virtually anticipated in the numerous examples given in the preceding pages. The principal particles which may take the subjunctive are: ܐܢ, ܕܐ, ܐܟܬ, ܕ, ܕܟ, ܕ, ܕܡ, ܕ, ܐܝܟ, ܕ, ܐܟܕ, ܕ, ܐܡܬܝ, ܕ, ܐܦ, ܕ, ܐܦܠ, ܕ, ܐܦ, ܕ, ܐܦܝ, ܕ, ܐܦܟ, ܕ, ܐܦ, ܕ, ܐܦ, ܕ, ܐܦ

in the speaker or writer's mind; e. g. ܐܢ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܡܪܢ ܡܢ ܡܐ, or, instead, ܐܢ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܡܪܢ ܡܢ ܡܐ, *if I am reading to-morrow.* ܐܢ, with the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive, implies the non-existence of the action or state of the verb; e. g. ܐܢ ܬܬܟܠ ܐܦ *if you should sicken* (implying that you are not sick now), ܐܢ ܐܦ ܐܬܐ ܐܬܠ *if you had come up* (as you have not).

As to the use of ܕ, it is important to observe that, like *ut* in Latin, it is employed in a multitude of cases to denote the purpose, object, or result of the preceding clause, where in English and Hebrew (Nordh. § 1030) we should have the infinitive: ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܢܫܩܐ ܠܣܘܣܝܐ *tell for him that he water the horse;* ܐܙܠ ܕܢܚܙܐ *he went that he might see;* ܐܚܕܘ ܘܐܫܟܚܘ ܕܢܫܟܚܘܗܝ *they drew trouble that they might find him* (tried to find). Observe that it is immaterial, in this last, and many similar cases, whether we use the present or the imperfect subjunctive, each being alike contingent. The present would, however, be generally preferred as briefer and equally expressive. ܕ is very often omitted after ܨܒܐ ܠܟ, ܟܬܒ ܠܟ, ܐܡܪ, ܫܟܚ, ܐܬܐ, ܫܐܠ, ܒܥܐ, etc., For example, ܨܒܐ ܫܡܥ: *do you wish* (that) *you may learn?* ܟܬܒ ܠܟ ܡܗܝܪ ܟܬܒ *it is necessary* (that) *you write quickly,* ܒܥ ܢܬܟ ܠܗܘܢ *he will beg on* (of) *them* (that) *they flee.* Compare the omission of ܕ in the ancient language (Hoff. § 130, 4, γ; § 149, 3, 5; § 134, 3, a), and also of *ut* in the Latin. The correspondence between the signification of verbs in that language which dispense with *ut,* and those in the Modern Syriac which are not followed by ܕ, is quite striking.

Sometimes a clause is interposed between ܕ and the verb to which it refers; e. g.:

ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫ ܐܢܢ : ܕܡܡܠܠ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ : ܐܬܪ ܐܢܫ ܐܢܢ ܕܐܬܐܣܪ

which literally reads *I wish that those men that I have spoken about them be poured into prison.*

ܕ ܕܢ *for that* (ἵνα) is in general used like ܕ, but can only denote the purpose or object, not the result. It is not commonly used in Koordistan, where ܕ supplies its place.

There is the same distinction between the words ܒܨܠܘ ܕܒܥܝ ܒܨܠ and ܒܨܠ ܒܥܝ ܕܒܨܠ that there is in English between the expressions "when I pray" and "when I am praying."

The remaining particles need no illustration. ܐܝܟܢܐ and ܐܝܟܢ are identical in meaning, the former being used more in Koordistan, and the latter in Oroomiah. They correspond to the ancient ܐܝܟܢܐ and ܟܕ, as used with the future.

Where several tenses of the same kind are connected by the conjunction ܘ, if the first is preceded by ܗܘ, the others may omit it. So if ܗܘ is prefixed to the first, it is understood with all. The same is often, but not always, true in regard to those tenses which terminate in ܐܡ; e. g. ܗܘ ܐܙܠ ܐܡ ܘܡܟܪܙ *he was in the habit of going and preaching,* where ܐܡ need not be repeated after ܡܟܪܙ. So in the ancient language. So in the English "I will go, and (will) call them, and (will) have a talk."

INFINITIVE.

The absolute infinitive, joined with the finite verb, is used in the Modern as well as in the Ancient Syriac (Hoff. § 133), and the Hebrew (Nordh. § 1017), to give intensity to the idea; e. g. John 9 : 9, where the ancient is ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܐ, and the modern ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܟܕ *he is very much like, he strongly resembles.* Sometimes the infinitive is used in a manner different from the preceding. For example, ܠܐ ܫܡܥ ؟ *did he not hear?* To this, the answer may be as follows:

ܫܡܥ ܫܡܥ ܐܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ *hearing he heard, but coming he did not come.* We have often prefixed ܡ to this infinitive, in accordance with early usage, and indeed present usage among the mountains; but it is not heard in Oroomiah.

The infinitive with ܠ is occasionally employed in the Mod. Syr., though the subjunctive with ܕ and ܕܢ is generally preferred. The following are examples of its use: ܐܝܬ ܠܡܙܒܢ *there is nothing to sell;* ܝܕܝ ܠܡܫܩܠ *we poured hand to go,* i. e. we set out; ܐܬܝܬ ܠܡܫܡܥ ؟ *did you come to hear?* In these examples, ܕ with the subjunctive may also be employed, according to usage in Oroomiah. In some parts of Koordistan, however, ܠ is used much more than here in Oroomiah, and especially when, as in these cases, it has no object expressed after it. Thus, they say ؟ ܐܬܝܬ ܠܡܫܡܥ, but, with an object following, ؟ ܐܬܝܬ ܕܡܫܡܥ ܒܣܪܘܬܐ, *did you come to hear preaching?*

In Oroomiah, in many cases, where we should expect ܠ, some other preposition is used with the infinitive. For example, in the sentences above we may substitute ܕܢ with equal propriety.

As in the ancient lang., ܡܢ may be used before the infinitive for the purpose of comparison (Hoff. § 134, 2); but in the common usage without any ܠ. Thus, for ܠܐ ܨܒܝܬ ܠܡ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܬܐ ܠܒܝܬܗ, in Ruth 1 : 12, we may translate ܡܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܒܝܬܗ, or use, if we prefer, the subjunctive ܡܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܒܝܬܗ. So too, for the clause in Gen. 11 : 8, ܘܫܒܩܘ ܡܢ ܕܒܢܘ ܐܬ ܩܪܬܐ, we may write ܡܢ ܒܢܝܢ ܐܬ ܩܪܬܐ. So we say ܫܒܩܘ ܡܢ ܡܨܠܝ ؘ *they ceased from praying;* ܓܡܪܢ ܡܢ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܩܛܠܐ *we finished from trouble-drawing,* i. e. from being in trouble, or from taking pains;

ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟ *you cannot hinder me from telling.*

The infinitive is used in other connections without a preposition; e. g. ܐܙܠ ܠܡܐܬܝ *he went to bring,* where in Koordistan they would say ܠܡܐܬܝ.

Here may properly be classed such cases as the following: ܕܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܛܐ *while not yet arriving,* i. e. while the person had not yet arrived; ܕܠܐ ܠܐ ܚܙܐ *not at all seeing,* the context determining who did not see. So also with suffixes: ܕܠܐ ܠܐ ܚܙܝܗ *while not seeing him.* The place of these may of course always be filled by the finite verb.

ܥܕ ܕܢܬܪܒܘ ܒܒܝܫܬܐ ܠܐ ܕܒܐܒܕܢܐ *they will increase in wickedness until their perishing* (Nordheimer, § 1030, 3); ܩܕܡ ܕܙܪܥ ܙܪܥܐ *before the sowing of the seed* (Nordh. § 1030, 4, a); ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܚܕ ܒܪܥܝܢ ܘܡܡܠܠܝܢ ܚܕ ; *are making thought* (thinking) *and speaking one* (the same)? (Nordh. § 1013, I. 1). So ܚܦܝܪ ܘܡܫܩܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ *digging and watering* (fields) *I do not understand* (Nordh. § 1013, II. 1); ܒܙܒܢܐ ܕܡܙܠܬܐ *at the time of sun-rising* (Nordh. § 1030, 2, a); ܠܝܬ ܡܕܡ ܒܝܫ ܕܥܒܕ ܙܢܝܘܬܐ *there is nothing* (so) *bad as committing adultery* (N. § 1030, 2, b); ܠܡܥܒܕ ܐܠܒܢܐ *for the purpose of making bricks* (Nordh. § 1030, 6, a).

Some of the above may perhaps be regarded by others as participles, the ܢ of verbs of the first class being dropped; or simply as nouns. But it seems preferable, if etymology alone, or the analogy of the Turkish and Persian, as previously noticed, is taken into account, to call them infinitives. However, it matters little; for what is the infinitive but a noun, expressing the abstract idea of the verb, without reference to tense or number or person? The references above show that there is a striking similarity between these examples and those adduced by Nordheimer to show the use of the infinitive in Hebrew. They might be farther multiplied.

PARTICIPLE.

A participle, when repeated, sometimes denotes the repetition of the action, or its continuance; e. g. ܕܚܝܫ ܕܚܝܫ *rolling, rolling,* i. e. continuing to roll. Participles are often thus used adverbially, to qualify a verb which follows; e. g. ܪܗܛ ܪܗܛ ܣܡ *running, running, go,* i. e. as fast as you can; ܚܫܚ ܚܫܚ ܐܬܐ *laughing, laughing, he came,* i. e. full of glee.

Participles are sometimes used in the place of the infinitive, as in the ancient language (Hoff. § 134, 3, b), after verbs denoting *to begin;* e. g. ܫܕܩܘ ܩܛܦ *they began plucking.*

ܒ is not commonly prefixed to the participle in the Modern as in the Ancient Syriac (Hoff. § 135, 5), and indeed never in Oroomiah, although we occasionally employ it thus in our books.

For such expressions as ܩܛܦ ܒܥܝ, ܟܬܒ ܒܥܝ, etc., the Mod. Syr. uses the nouns terminating in ܐ; e. g. ܩܛܦܐ ܒܥܝ, ܟܬܒܐ ܒܥܝ. We retain, however, ܥܒܕ ܒܥܝ and its plural, for want of any suitable term in the modern for *hypocrite.*

VERB OF EXISTENCE.

ܐܝܬ and ܠܝܬ are both used, as in the Anc. Syr., to express the idea of possession, and that constantly; e. g. ܠܝ ܐܝܬ *I have,* ܠܟ ܐܝܬ *thou hast,* etc.; literally, there is to me, "est mihi." When we refer to indefinite past time, ܗܘܐ is to be inserted; as ܠܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܝ *there was not to us.* In order to express future possession, we employ the future of the verb ܗܘܐ; e. g. ܟܣܦ ܣܓܝ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ *much money will be to*

thee. So it is used for the conditional: ܐܝܬ ܠܗ *if there be to her,* i. e. if she have.

It may be mentioned in this connection that such forms as the ancient ܐܢܐ *I am,* ܠܝܬ ܗܘ *it is not he,* are not at all allowable in the modern language. Nor are ܐܢܬ and ܗܘ joined with participles; as ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ.

ADVERBS.

Adverbs in the Mod. Syr., as in the Ancient (Hoff. § 147, 2), are often repeated, like other parts of speech, to denote intensity. Examples have already been given.

Care should be taken not to confound ܒܬܪܬ, used as an adjective, with the same word used as an adverb. Thus, ܐܝܬܝ ܠܐܚܬܐ ܒܬܪܬ means *bring the other girl,* while the expression ܐܝܬܝ ܠܐܚܬܐ ܒܬܪܬ means *bring the girl again.*

Two negatives are very often used in Modern Syriac to increase the force of the negative; e. g. ܠܐ ܚܙܝܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ *we saw nothing;* ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܟܠ ܟܠ *I do not at all know;* ܠܝܬ ܠܗ *there is none at all.* This differs from ancient usage (Hoff. § 147, 4), but corresponds to that of the Turkish and the Persian. As an example of the latter take هیچ چیز نمی بیند *he sees nothing.*

When there are several negative propositions in the same sentence, each verb should properly have its own negative; e. g. ܠܐ ܩܡܘ ܘܠܐ ܐܙܠܘ *they did not rise and go out.* Still, if the second verb be not at all emphatic, the second ܠܐ may be omitted.

PREPOSITIONS.

The most important peculiarities of these have been noted in the Etymology. They are used very much like the corresponding prepositions in the ancient language.

The phrases ܒܝܢ ܠܝ ܠܟ, ܒܝܢ ܠܝ ܠܡ, etc., which are in common use, deserve notice. We may literally translate them: *between me to myself, between thee to thyself,* i. e. without any advice or help from others. Compare the ancient ܒܝܢ ܠܢ ܠܢܦܫܢ. The modern ܒܝܢ also conforms in other respects to the ancient ܒܝܢ; e. g. ancient ܒܝܢ ܗܘ, modern ܒܝܢ ܠܗ, *between thee and him.* ܒܝܢ, however, in the modern lang. is more usually repeated; thus, ܒܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ *between me and thee.* See both constructions with בֵּין in Hebrew (Nordh. § 1041, 1, a, b). It may also be remarked that ܒܝܢ sometimes means *including;* e. g. ܒܝܢ ܟܠ ܚܕ *including all of them;* ܒܝܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܢܫܐ *including men and women.*

CONJUNCTIONS.

In the Modern Syriac ܘ is often omitted; e. g. ܬܠܬ ܓܒܪܐ *two* (or) *three men.* So in Anc. Syr. (Hoff. § 149, 1, b). So in the Turkish. On the other hand, it is often repeated at the head of successive clauses; e. g. ܘ ܐܢܐ ܘ ܐܢܬ *either I or you.* Compare ܐܦ ..... ܐܦ in Ancient Syriac. In the same way we repeat ܐܦ. ܐܦ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܦ ܘܙܝܪ *both the king and vizir* (Hoff. § 149, 2). So with ܟܕ, which corresponds to ܐܦ, and is more used by the people.

Sometimes ܐ is omitted; very often, indeed, in common conversation. ܒ is also vulgarly substituted for ܐ in such expressions as ܐܝܘܙ ܒܢܝ *Iwaz and they,* i. e. Iwaz and his companions.

PHRASES.

It will be useful to learners, and not without interest to those who would compare the Modern Syriac with its cognate dialects, to give a small collection of the peculiar

idioms and phrases with which the language abounds. Many have indeed already been given in the examples used to illustrate the Syntax. Those which follow are noted down as they occur, without any attempt at system.

ܥܒܕܗ ܕܒܪ ܥܠ ܐܘܪܚܐ *his business will go upon the road,* i. e. will prosper; ܐܬܘ ܠܘܬ ܐܘܪܚܝ ܐܬܘ *they were looking on my road,* i. e. awaiting my arrival; ܚܕܢ ܠܒܐ ܠܗܘܢ *we gave heart for them,* i. e. comforted them; ܐܟܠ ܠܒܐ ܢܩܦ *he will eat sticks,* i. e. be beaten; ܐܟܠ ܒܥܐ *I ate care,* i. e. took pains, or had trouble; ܫܕܐ ܐܝܕܐ ܠܗܘ ܥܒܕܐ *I am pouring* (putting) *hand to that business,* i. e. I am beginning. This idiom is even used as follows: ܦܬܚ ܐܝܕܐ ܠܡܡܠܠ *he poured hand to speak.* ܢܛܠ ܐܝܕܐ ܡܢܢ *he will throw off hand from us,* i. e. will withdraw countenance or support; ܪܫ ܩܢܐ *the head of the nest,* applied to the oldest child; ܢܦܠܘ ܠܐܘܪܚܐ *they fell to the road,* i. e. they set-out; ܟܠ ܚܕ ܥܠ ܪܓܠܘܗܝ *every sheep on his own legs,* i. e. every man on his own responsibility; ܡܛܐ ܠܝܕܗ *it arrived to his hand,* i. e. it reached him; ܢܦܠ ܠܝܕܗ *it fell to his hand,* at times used for what comes accidentally. Sometimes we say ܠܐ ܢܦܠ ܠܝ *it will not fall to my hand,* i. e. I cannot (do so and so). ܫܐܒ ܣܓܝ *it drew much,* i. e. it took much time; ܩܕܡ ܐܦܘܗܝ ܟܡ *he is black-faced,* i. e. he is guilty or disgraced; ܚܘܪ ܐܦܘܗܝ ܟܡ *he is white-faced,* i. e. he is innocent; ܩܫܐ ܪܝܫܗ ܟܡ *his head is hard,* i. e. he is obstinate; ܠܐ ܡܨܝ ܐܥܒܕ ܗܕܐ ܥܒܕܐ *I cannot enter before that business,* i. e. I cannot undertake it; ܣܒܝܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܟ ܫܒܪ *I am doing hope from you,* i. e. I exercise hope in regard to you; ܩܫܐ ܠܐ ܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܥܒܕܐ *his head does not go out from that business,* i. e. he does

not understand it, is unable to accomplish it; ܠܐ ܡܨܝ ܥܡܗ *I cannot with him,* i. e. cope with; ܐܬܐ ܦܪܝܐ ܠܐ *the fruit has arrived,* i. e. is ripe; ܗܟܝܠ ܥܒܕ ܡܢ ܥܩܪ ܐܕܢܗ *he did thus from the root of his ear,* i. e. from necessity; ܠܐ ܩܛܥ ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܗ *his understanding does not cut,* i. e. he does not understand; ܫܕܪ ܫܠܡܐ ܠܗܘ ܠܓܒܪܐ *pour peace on that man,* i. e. salute him kindly; ܦܠܟ ܢܦܩ *he went out,* i. e. he turned out, *a drunkard;* ܐܢܐ ܡܚܐ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ *I will strike back on Christ,* i. e. I will take refuge in, I will go to for support; ܨܒܝܢܟ ܥܒܕ *your pleasure it is,* i. e. let it be as you please; ܡܢ ܪܒܐ ܘܥܕ ܙܥܘܪܐ *from great to small,* i. e. all; ܠܡܚܐ ܒܣܝܡܘܬܐ *to strike flattery,* i. e. to flatter; ܩܡܬ ܥܠ ܦܢܝܗ *you rose in his face,* i. e. rose against, were opposed to him; ܡܛܐ ܠܢܦܫܝ *it reached my soul,* i. e. I was driven to extremity; ܩܪܝܪܐ ܡܚܒܝܟ *the cold has smitten you,* i. e. you have taken cold; ܡܚܠ ܠܢ *sweeten us,* i. e. forgive us; ܠܐ ܐܬܒܪܟ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ *I do not break from that man,* i. e. I do not cower before him; ܠܒܢ ܐܬܦܬܚ *our heart opened,* i. e. we became happy; ܠܒܟܝ ܩܥܕ *your heart remained,* i. e. you were not hearty (in the business), or you were displeased; ܩܕܡ ܐܝܕܐ ܠܟ *it is before the hand,* i. e. at hand; ܢܦܫܗ ܕܚܝܠ ܠܟ *his breath is ridden,* i. e. is quick, as of a dying man; ܠܒܗ ܐܬܩܛܚ *his heart burned,* often in the sense of compassionating another, as, my heart burned for him. So the Nestorians speak of the heart as boiling, cooling, freezing, etc. The meaning of these figures is obvious. ܒܪܟܘܗܝ ܟܠܝ ܠܟ *his knees are stopped,* i. e. he is wearied out; ܐܡܟܘܬ ܢܚܬܬ ܠܟ

her foot is heavy, i. e. she is pregnant; ܢܦܠ ܠܝ ܒܣܟܠܝ *it fell to my understanding,* i. e. I comprehended; ܬܒܠܥ ܡܠܝܟ *cook your words,* i. e. speak with deliberation; ܣܘܣܝܐ ܥܒܝܕ ܠܚܡ *the horse is cooked,* i. e. he is hardened to heat and cold, etc.; ܗܠܝ ܟܡܐ ܫܢܝ *these how many years,* i. e. these many years; ܫܒ ܝܡܐ *a ten days,* i. e. ten days; ܥܠ ܟܬܦܟ *on your neck,* i. e. the responsibility is on you. So the phrase "on your head." ܦܪܨ ܦܢܝܐ *a seer of face,* i. e. a time-server; ܥܒܪ ܠܗ ܫܢܝ *he has entered upon years,* i. e. he is growing or has grown old; ܡܚܝܢ ܠܢ ܣܘܣܝܐ *they are striking swimming,* i. e. they are swimming; ܩܕܫ ܦܬܘܪܐ *sanctify the table,* i. e. ask a blessing; ܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܒܠܒܟ *you have gone out from your mind,* i. e. as we say, you are out of your head; ܠܐ ܬܣܡ ܥܠ ܡܕܥܟ ܥܠ ܡܕܥܗ *your understanding do not put on his understanding,* i. e. do not compare yours with his.

SALUTATIONS.

A few of the more common will be given below. It will be seen that some of them are rather Oriental than peculiar to the Nestorians.

One who first speaks to another says ܫܠܡܐ ܠܟ *peace to thee,* to which the reply is ܒܫܠܡܐ ܐܬܝܬ *in peace thou hast come,* or, simply, ܒܫܠܡܐ. On taking leave, one says ܙܠ ܒܫܠܡܐ (of uncertain derivation), equivalent to *good-bye.* Instead of this, we also hear ܩܥܡ ܒܫܠܡܐ *remain in peace.* At evening, a common salutation is ܪܡܫܟ ܒܪܟ (may) *your evening* (be) *blessed.* After a death or some calamity has befallen a house, a visitor says to the inmate ܪܡܫ ܩܥܡ ܫܠܡ *may your head be comfortable,* or *comforted.* When a man puts on a new coat, his friend says to

him ܬܒܝܟ ܗܘܐ *may it be blessed.* On receiving a favor, one replies ܫܦܝܐ ܗܘܐ, where ܫܦܝܐ seems to be nearly equivalent to ܬܒܝܟ *may you be happy* or *blessed.* After dinner, the guest says to his host ܐܠܗܐ ܢܣܒ ܠܟ *may God increase you.* If one enters a field, he says to the laborer ܐܠܗܐ ܢܬܠܟ ܢܡܛ *may God give you strength.* At the commencement of a feast or a wedding, the invited person says ܒܪܟ ܗܘ ܬܒܝܟ *may your feast* (or wedding) *be blessed.* If a host wishes to be specially polite, he says to his guest ܪܫ ܥܝܢܝ ܐܬܝܬ *the head of my eyes, you have come.* If one inquires about another's circumstances, the reply often is ܡܢ ܡܪܟ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܛܒ *from your wealth* (or bounty) *my condition is good.* Sometimes he says "from the bounty of God and yours." An inferior, when asked by a superior about his health, often gives no reply except ܥܒܕܟ *your servant.* A person wishing to abase himself before another, says ܐܢܐ ܢܦܕܝܟ *may I be your sacrifice.* One, on seeing something wonderful, often exclaims ܫܒܚܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ *glory to God!* When he wishes to commend another, he says ܢܦܫܟ ܫܠܡ *may your soul be sound,* equivalent to *bravo.*

POETRY.

We have made some attempts, and, as we think, not unsuccessfully, to introduce sacred poetry into the Modern Syriac. The language is sufficiently flexible and sufficiently imaginative, and we have already quite a collection of hymns, both original and translated. The following is a translation of Cowper's beautiful hymn, "There is a fountain filled with blood," which seems to have lost none of its beauty in this strange dress.

ڈھر ڈسوھَنر۔

۲

جُنر ٱبا مِ ڈھر مکبڑ :
ڈمِ وصبھَر جِکَنر :
مہ ھَمِ ڈجنر مِ سکبھَل :
حک ڈکَھَ جھسَّنر۔

۳

ڈکَکب دمں جُنر سوِنر :
خُڈ کوصبھَر ھَمَ مسنر :
جوصَدمھَل بُڈَک ھیکر
ھصوہ ھوکر ڈجنر۔

۴

ٱبے ڈبدہ ٱدک زَنَّ سَکس :
کجوبَڈَنر ڈجوَنر :
ٱبَنر ٱبے ڈبدہ ٱے ھَس :
حک قَدَم مِ کمھَل۔

۵

ے کرَدَنر ڈبُکَنر : ڈھوے :
ڈوھکسَّ ھَر سُڈَنر :
زَس ڈصوھنر سَزَ جھوھوے :
قَمَّ جَوَدَنر سُنَنر۔

ס

ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܕܢܫܬܒܘܩ ܠܗ ܒܝ ܕܐܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܐܝ ܕܐܝ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܕܢܫܬܒܘܩ

ס כִּי־אֵין לְמוֹשִׁיעַ כִּי אִם־יְהוָה וְאֵין מוֹשִׁיעַ מִבַּלְעָדָי׃
ה אָנֹכִי יְהוָה וְאֵין עוֹד אֵין אֱלֹהִים מִבַּלְעָדָי אֲאַזֶּרְךָ וְלֹא־
יְדַעְתָּנִי׃ לְמַעַן יֵדְעוּ מִמִּזְרַח־שֶׁמֶשׁ וּמִמַּעֲרָב כִּי אֶפֶס בִּלְעָדָי
ו אֲנִי יְהוָה וְאֵין עוֹד׃ יוֹצֵר אוֹר וּבוֹרֵא חֹשֶׁךְ עֹשֶׂה שָׁלוֹם וּבוֹרֵא
ז רָע אֲנִי יְהוָה עֹשֶׂה כָּל־אֵלֶּה׃ הָרִנּוּ שָׁחַק מִמַּעַל וְשְׁחָקִים יִזְּלוּ־
צֶדֶק תִּפְתַּח הָאָרֶץ וְיִפְרוּ יִשְׁעָה וְצֶדֶק יַצְמִיחוּ יַחְדָּו אֲנִי יְהוָה
ח בְּרָאתִיו׃ הוֹי רָב אֹתוֹ יֹצְרוֹ חֶרֶשׂ עִם־חַרְשֵׂי אֲדָמָה הַיֹּאמַר חֹמֶר
לְיוֹצְרוֹ מַה־תֹּעַשׂ וּפָעָלְךָ אֵין יָדַיִם לוֹ׃ הוֹי אֹמֵר לְאָב מַה־תּוֹלִיד
ט וְלְאִשָּׁה מַה־חָּילְתָּ׃ כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיֹצְרוֹ הַשְׁאֲלוּנִי
עַל־בָּנַי וְעַל־פֹּעַל יָדַי תְּצַוּוּנִי׃ אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי אֶרֶץ וְאָדָם עָלֶיהָ בָּרָאתִי
י אֲנִי יָדַי נָטוּ שָׁמַיִם וְכָל־צְבָאָם צִוִּיתִי׃ אֲנִי הֵעִירוֹתִיהוּ בְצֶדֶק
יא וְכָל־דְּרָכָיו אְיַשֵּׁר הוּא יִבְנֶה עִירִי וְגָלוּתִי יְשַׁלַּח לֹא בְמְחִיר
יב וְלֹא בְשֹׁחַד אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת׃ כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה יְגִיעַ מִצְרַיִם
וְסַחְרַת כּוּשׁ וּסְבָאִים אַנְשֵׁי מִדָּה עָלַיִךְ יַעֲבֹרוּ וְלָךְ יִהְיוּ עֲבָדִים
יִתְהַלֵּכוּ אַחֲרַיִךְ בְּמוֹסְרִים יַעֲבֹרוּ וְלְפָנַיִךְ יִשְׁתַּחֲווּ אֵלַיִךְ יִתְפַּלָּלוּ
יג אַךְ־בָּךְ אֵל וְאֵין עוֹד אֱלֹהִים׃ אָכֵן אַתָּה אֵל מִסְתַּתֵּר אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
יד מוֹשִׁיעַ׃ בֹּשׁוּ וְגַם־נִכְלְמוּ כֻלָּם יַחְדָּו הָלְכוּ בְכְלִמָּה חָרָשֵׁי צִירִים׃
טו יִשְׂרָאֵל נוֹשַׁע בַּיהוָה תְּשׁוּעַת עוֹלָמִים לֹא תֵבֹשׁוּ וְלֹא תִכָּלְמוּ
טז עֲדֵי־עַד׃ כִּי כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה בּוֹרֵא שָׁמַיִם הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים יֹצֵר הָאָרֶץ
וְעֹשֵׂהוּ הוּא כֹנְנָהּ לֹא־תֹהוּ בְרָאָהּ לָשֶׁבֶת יְצָרָהּ אֲנִי יְהוָה וְאֵין
יז עוֹד׃ לֹא בַסֵּתֶר דִּבַּרְתִּי בִּמְקוֹם אֶרֶץ חֹשֶׁךְ לֹא אָמַרְתִּי לְזֶרַע יַעֲקֹב
יח תֹּהוּ בַקֻּשׁוּנִי אֲנִי יְהוָה דֹּבֵר צֶדֶק מַגִּיד מֵישָׁרִים׃ הִקָּבְצוּ וָבֹאוּ
יט נִגְּשׁוּ יַחְדָּו פְּלֵטֵי הַגּוֹיִם לֹא יָדְעוּ הָרִים נֹשְׂאֵי עֵץ פִּסְלָם וּמִתְפַּלְלִים
כ אֶל־אֵל לֹא יוֹשִׁיעַ׃ הַגִּידוּ וְקָרֵבוּ אַף יִוָּעֲצוּ יַחְדָּו מִי הִשְׁמִיעַ זֹאת
מֵאָז מִקֶּדֶם הֲלֹא אֲנִי יְהוָה וְאֵין עוֹד אֱלֹהִים צַדִּיק וּמוֹשִׁיעַ אֵין
כא זוּלָתִי׃ פְּנוּ אֵלַי וְהִוָּשְׁעוּ כָּל־אַפְסֵי אָרֶץ כִּי אֲנִי אֵל וְאֵין עוֹד׃

ڤَمَّنْ مَنْ ڤَمَّنْ ڤَمَّنْ مَنْ ڤَمَّنْ ڤَمَّنْ مَنْ ڤَمَّنْ

APPENDIX.

It is stated on page 45 of this Grammar, that some effort had been made to note down as many verbal roots in common use as possible, but that most, if not every one, of the lists of verbs given were probably still incomplete. During the past year more than a hundred new verbs have been collected, which will be found classified below. Many of these verbs we have hitherto been unacquainted with, and every succeeding year will of course add to their number. We may thus hope to approximate in time to a complete catalogue of the verbal roots in the Modern Syriac.

It would be a very interesting and profitable study to trace the roots already written down to their primitive source, so far as it can be ascertained, and I had intended to make such an examination. But want of leisure compels me to relinquish the idea. This I regret the less, as every oriental scholar has the means of making the examination for himself. No doubt many of these roots have been employed in daily intercourse from remote antiquity, and yet, as intimated on page 8, may perhaps now be written down for the first time.

An opportunity has been afforded me of reading eighty-eight printed pages of the Grammar and furnishing for them a table of errata. The printing is beautiful, and much admired by us, as well as by the Nestorians, and the errors of the press are in general unimportant. The wonder is, that, under the circumstances, they are not of a more serious character.

It should have been stated in the "INTRODUCTORY REMARKS," that the matrices for the Syriac types with which the Grammar is printed were prepared by Mr. Breath, one of my missionary associates, who has from the first superintended our press, and cut with great taste and skill all our fonts of Syriac type, except in a single instance.*

D. T. STODDARD.

Oroomiah, Persia, May, 1855.

* See note at the end of this Appendix.

VERBS INFLECTED LIKE ܩܛܠ, 1ST CLASS.

ܬܟܠ to come to nought, fade away (as stars before the sun).

ܬܠܚ to reduce to pulp, become pulp.

ܓܕܫ to abrade.

ܟܡܣ to cave in, as a roof of earth (also causative).

ܟܠܥ to split (tr. and intr.).

ܟܕܐ to starve (intr.).

ܟܕܪ to stop one's mouth (intr.), to become silent.

ܓܒ to cement (cracked vessels).

ܓܕܟ to floor (an antagonist).

ܫܘܐ equivalent to ܫܕܘ. See p. 81.

ܫܗܦ to invert.

ܫܚܐ equivalent to ܫܚܠ. See p. 82.

ܫܕܐ to reduce to ruins, to become a ruin.

ܟܟܫ to reduce to pulp. See ܬܠܚ.

ܟܚܐ to be courageous, to assail. 1 & 2.

ܟܕܫ to be quiet, to be faint.

ܩܠܐ to prick, to pierce.

ܩܠܫ to make to squint, to squint.

ܩܚܐ to slip out of place, to discharge a gun, to tear.

ܩܡܥ to suck in (as a leech).

ܩܥܬ to blow.

ܪܟܟ to split (tr. and intr.).

ܫܓܫ to fade, bleach (intr.).

ܬܟܐ to stick, adhere. Like ܐܟܐ, p. 71.

VERBS INFLECTED LIKE ܦܩܕ, 2ND CLASS.

ܟܡܗ to hiccup.

ܓܕܓ equivalent to ܓܓܕ. See p. 80.

ܟܠܛ to be still.

ܟܚܐ to incite (to a contest).

ܚܘܐ equivalent to ܚܘܚ. See p. 81.

ܟܣܐ to reprove.

ܟܬܝ to be courageous.

ܡܫ to touch, feel of.

ܡܣ equivalent to ܡܣܣ. See p. 82.

ܢܡ to make damp, be damp. See ܢܡܛ.

ܣܓܕ to saddle.

ܓܟܟ to go on foot.

ܥܙܒ to forsake (as a bird forsakes her nest).

ܙܟܐ to make clean, become clean.

VERBS INFLECTED LIKE قَتَلَ, p. 64.

- مَلَأَ to fill to the brim.
- رَأَى to perceive (by the eye).
- كَرَّ to snap, make to roll (as a marble).
- طَعَنَ to thrust. See سَمَّ, p. 51.
- حَلَّ to dissolve (tr.).
- قَامَ to stand on end (as the hair).
- خَضِرَ to be or become green.
- بَاتَ to roost.
- تَابَ to repent. See هَمَّ, p. 59.

LIKE كَتَبَ, p. 66.

- خَبَا to go out, be extinguished.

VERBS INFLECTED LIKE بَنَى, p. 69.

- حَفَرَ to indent, make a depression.
- خَصَى to castrate.
- نَأَى to groan.
- قَلَعَ to be rooted out; when of 2nd class, to root out.
- كَبَّ to bound back (as a ball).
- كَفَرَ to stray, run away.

VERBS INFLECTED LIKE عَصَمَ, p. 80.

- خَدِرَ to benumb, be benumbed.
- حَكَمَ to chew.
- رَسَخَ to fix immovably (as a nail), to be fixed.
- كَبَسَ to make small, to make round, to become small or round.
- كَمَنَ to cause to cave in (as a mine), to cave in.
- دَعَسَ to trample.
- هَوَكَ to incite; to mortify (as a diseased part).
- هَنَجَ to make to hesitate, to hesitate.
- هَنَأَ to be pleased or gratified.
- هَذَمَ to button, be buttoned.
- هَذَرَ to make or become muddy.
- هَيَّجَ equivalent to هَاجَ. See p. 81.
- هَبَحَ to bark, to croak.
- هَسَرَ to embolden, be bold.
- هَوَكَ to tear (cloth) (tr. and intr.).
- هَوَسَ to laugh immoderately.

ܒܗܪ to dazzle.

ܒܘܪ to put out (leaves); to break out (as sores).

ܒܘܙ to spill (tr. and intr.).

ܒܙܥ to dig into, to pick the teeth.

ܒܙܩ to mix up in confusion, be mixed.

ܒܛܛ to tick (as a clock), to ring (as metals). Also used in a causative sense.

ܒܟܟ to mix up, etc., as ܒܙܩ.

ܒܟܫ to beat with a switch, to smart (as if from such a blow).

ܒܠܠ to pant from heat, to sob.

ܒܡܟ to be curved or bent.

ܒܢܢ to clank (as chains).

ܒܣܟ to make a hedge.

ܒܥܥ to tickle, be tickled.

ܒܦܦ to interweave, be interwoven.

ܓܠܓܠ to lick up.

ܓܡܓܡ to loosen (as a pin in its socket) (tr. and intr.).

ܓܪܓܪ to trample down.

ܕܚܚ to make firm, confirm.

ܕܝܠ to gather (as pus).

ܕܡܡ to reconcile, unite in friendship.

ܕܡܟ to be a wanderer.

ܕܥܟ to prick up (the ears).

ܕܦܦ to make to pant, to pant.

ܗܓܓ to make damp, become damp.

ܗܕܕ to graft, to be or become grafted.

ܗܕܝ to dam up and swell (as water).

ܗܪܪ to breathe hard (through the nose).

ܗܬܬ to wedge in, be wedged.

ܗܬܬܪ to snort.

ܙܒܒ to be or become consolidated.

ܙܒܥ to pave (with stone, etc.).

ܙܚܚ to cause fair weather, to become fair.

ܙܟܟ to have darting pains.

ܙܩܦ to place upright, to stand upright.

ܚܟܟ to cackle.

ܛܒܒ to arch, bow down (with age) (tr. and intr.).

ܛܚܢ to reduce to powder, be reduced to powder.

ܛܪܛܡ to have colic.

ܝܙܙ to heave with emotion.

ܝܪܪ to shiver with cold.

ܟܡܟ to make musty, become musty.

ܟܦܦ to beautify, become beautiful.

ܟܬܫ to beat with a switch.

ܟܬܬ to crack (as an egg) (intr.).

ܟܬܪ to sag, hang down.

ܠܟܟ to shrink up, wrinkle (tr. and intr.)

ܠܙܙ = ܠܟܟ. See p. 84.

ܠܙܢ to be boiled to pieces, fall to pieces.

VERBS INFLECTED LIKE قَدَمَ, p. 86.

جَسُرَ to be bold, to dare.

جَذَعَ to advance (in age and stature).

كَذَعَ = كَذِعَ to starve.

وَجِعَ to be affected or moved.

جَعَدَ to soil, be soiled.

جَدَبَ to snap (as a board when broken). See جَذَبَ, p. 86.

جَنَبَ to run mad.

VERBS INFLECTED LIKE قَمَنَ, p. 86.

قَمَنَ = قَمِنَ, See p. 86.

قَمَرَ to howl, as وَمَرَ, p. 86.

[*Note.*—To Mr. Stoddard's acknowledgments to Mr. Breath, with which we are happy to unite our own, it is proper to add a word of recognition of the labor and skill bestowed by Mr. S. S. Kilburn, type-cutter attached to the Type and Stereotype Foundry of Messrs. J. K. Rogers & Co., Boston, in recutting several of the letters and points, and making some important additions to the font.

COMM. OF PUBL.]

CORRECTIONS.

Page 5, lines 21–22, *for* modern language, *read* written character.
" 7, " 6, *for* SCRIPTURE TRACTS " SCRIPTURE FACTS.
" 12, " 15, " pp. 10, 11 " p. 13, Note 3.
" " " 17, " ܒ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܟ " ܒ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܟ.
" " last line, " ܚ̈ܕ̈ " ܚ̈ܕ̈.*
" 13, line 1, " ܐ̈ܣ̈ܘ̈ܐ " ܐ̈ܣ̈ܘ̈ܐ.
" 17, " 9; " ܚ̈ܨ̈ܐ " ܚ̈ܨ̈ܐ.
" " " 13, " ܟ̈ܚ̈ܕ̈ " ܟ̈ܚ̈ܕ̈.
" 18, " 8, " ܡ̈ܕ̈ܫ̈ " ܡ̈ܕ̈ܫ̈.
" " " 15, " ܡ̈ܡ̈ܕ̈ " ܡ̈ܡ̈ܕ̈.
" 21, " 1, " ܫ̈ " ܫ̈.
" 23, " 14, " ܐ̈ܡ̈ܫ̈ " ܐ̈ܡ̈ܫ̈.
" 24, lines 20–21, *for* what to me, " what may be, etc.
" " line 23, *place a period after* what.
" " " 28, *for* that may, *read* that may be.
" 25, " 6, " ܒ̈ " ܒ̈.
" " " 10, " ܐ̈ " ܐ̈.
" 27, " 11, " ܟ̈ܢ̈ " ܟ̈ܢ̈.
" 29, " 24, " ܒ̈ " ܒ̈.
" 32, " 12, " wētâ " wēta.
" 35, " 3, 4, " ܟ̈ܕ̈ܕ̈, ܟ̈ܕ̈ *read* ܟ̈ܕ̈, ܟ̈ܕ̈.
" 39, " 17, " ܐ̈ *read* ܐ̈.

* The vowel ◌̱ should never be placed on final ܐ, and wherever printed thus in the Grammar, it must be understood to be a slip, and the ◌̱ must be placed on the preceding consonant.

Page 39, line 22, *for* coming before *read* coming upon.

" 48, " 19, " ܟܕܘ " ܟܕܘ.*

" 49, " 20, " ܟܢܙ, p. 63, " ܟܢܝ p. 66.

" 50, " 5, " to string, as peppers, *read* to sting (as pepper does the mouth).

" 54, " 25, " may replied, *read* may be replied.

" 55, " 16, " ܡܣܒ " ܡܣܒ.

" " " 22, *erase the comma after* as well as ̈.

" 58, " 15, *for* ܟܕܟ *read* ܟܕܟ.

" 61, " 15, " ܘ " ܘ.

" 63, " 20, " ܟܢܙ " ܟܢܙ.

" 64, " 19, " " " "

" " *near the bottom, after* ܫܕ, *insert* ܟܕ to be worth.

" 67, line 1, *for* ܟܟ *read* ܟܟ.

" 75, " 7, " ܕܘܡܙ " ܕܘܡܙ.

" " " 16, " ܕܘܩܙ " ܕܘܩܙ.

" 76, near the middle, *for* ܕܗܕܙ *read* ܕܗܕܙ.

" 78, line 3, *for* ܟܙ *read* ܟܙ.

" " " 7, " ܫܡ " ܫܡ.

" 79, " 26, " ܡܡܘܡ " ܡܡܘܡ.

" 81, " 18, " ܘܕ " ܘܕ.

" " last line but one, *for* ܚܚ *read* ܚܚ.

" 82, line 16, *for* ܡܟܣ " ܡܟܣ.

" 83, " 3, " ܚܕܗ " ܚܕܗ.

" " " 20, " ܗܡܚ " ܗܡܚ.

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* In a number of cases ܕ appears without its point, it having been broken off, probably, in printing. This, however, is of little consequence, unless it lead to a confusion of ܕ and ܕ. The former seems always to have its point.

Page 84, line 6, *for* ܐܲܟ̈ܚܕ *read* ܐܲܟ̈ܚܕ.

" 85, " 22, " ܦܕܡܗ " ܦܕܡܗ.

" 86, " 4, " ܗܡܗ " ܗܡܗ.

" " " 11, " ܡܚܕ " ܡܚܕ.

" " last line, " ܡܗܡܚ " ܡܗܡܚ.

" " at the bottom, add to the list of verbs:

ܘܘܠ to howl.

ܟܗܠ to howl; also, as used in Koordistan, to glitter.

" 88, first line, *for* ܕܚ̈ܙ *read* ܙ̈ܚ.

" " line 17, " The future, " The 1st pers. future.

MISCELLANIES.

I. Letter from Rev. J. L. Porter of Damascus, containing Greek Inscriptions, with Pres. Woolsey's Remarks on the Same.

Damascus, 27th April, 1854.

Dear Sir:—The following inscriptions were copied during a journey made in the Haurân by the Rev. Mr. Barnett and myself, in February, 1853. We saw and copied many others; but as some of them are unimportant, and others already printed, I do not consider it necessary to trouble you with them. So far as I know, those which I now send have never been taken, or at least have never been published.

The following are from the village of *Hiyat*, on the north-western slope of the Jebel Haurân. The ruins on which No. 2 is found appear to be of an older date than the inscription.

1.

ΑΒΕΒΟCΑΥ
ΜΟΥΚΑΙΑΥΜΟC
ΥΙΟΙCΑΒΑΟΥ
ΘΙΟΥΤΟ
ΟΝΠΟΙΗCΑΝ

2.

ΜΑΝΟCΘΑΙΜΟΥ
ΚΑΙΥΙΟΙΑΥΤΟΥΕ
ΔωΚΑΝΕΚΤΗC
ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΚ Λ
ΧΥΑΑCΧΕΙΑ
ΑCΚΑΤΗΝCΥ
ΡΑΝΕΥCΕΒΟΥΝ
ΕΚΤΟΚΥΡΙωΝ

3.

ΠΡΟΚΛΟCΑΥΜΟΥ
ΤωΘΕωΤΟΝΓΑ
ΝΥΜΗΔΗΝΕΞΙΔΙ
ωΝΥΠΕΡΑΥΜΟΥ
ΥΙΟΥΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

From *Hit*, an ancient town about one mile in circumference, half an hour S. E. of the former:

4.

ΑΙΔΙ□CΜΑΖΙΜ□CΕΠΑΡΧΟC
ΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΕΚΤΙCΕΝΔΙΑΗΡωΔΟΥ
ΗΡωΔΟΥΙΔΙΟΥΚΑΙΔΙΑ
ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥΜΑΛΧΟΥΚΑΙ
ΑΔΔΟΥΑΚΡΑΒΑΝΟΥ
ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤωΝ

5.

	ΟΔΒΙЄΑΝΔΡω	N
	ΦΙΛΙΠΠЄΔΟΥΚ	INA
	ΡΙЄΤΑΞЄωCΔΟΥ	
KOC	OCMNMACΥN	HΥΛΙ (?)
ЄΚΘ	ЄMЄNωNЄΓΙΡ	AC
AM	ΦЄΡΑΨACOCΥN	HΔΥ
ΠΑ	ΡΑΚΟΙΤΙΚΑΙΤЄ	HN
N	OICIЄICΚΛЄOCA	ЄI
	ΚΑΙCΑΛΑΜΑΝΜC	

The following are in *Bathanyeh*, a ruined and now deserted town one hour N. 37 E. from Hit. This is the Arabic form of the Greek *Batanaea*. The whole of the Jebel Haurân, from the plain on the North to Sulkhad on the South, with the exception of a narrow strip along the western base, is called *Arḍh el-Bathanyeh* (ارض البثنيه). According to information received on the spot, I believe this district is much more extensive than is represented in the Appendix to your Biblical Researches. It is unquestionably the *Batanaea* of Josephus. The ruins of Bathanyeh are about a mile in circumference, and contain many large and substantial buildings, with massive stone doors. I think it has never been visited.

6.

AVCOCIAVTOVΘЄO
POCIIACIΘЄIVÕVNЄ
NOCABIBOVANA
MOCΓAVTOVZOBЄ
ΔOCNATAMЄΛOVIII
(?)
CTVIANЄΓЄIPAN
TOTVXIONЄK
TOTH

7.

AIPHΔ
OCOM
AIMOΥ
AωPO
CЄT
ωN
NЄ

8.

ΚЄΠΡICΚOCЄΦ CTATO
VΚЄΗ◁Є◁Ρ

ΑΓΑΘΗΤVΧΗ	NOV
ΑVΣΙΛЄΒЄΑΠω	KωMЄ
ΛΛΑΔΑΠΑΝΗΚΑΛ	CNA
ΗΤωΠΙCΤωΜΑΛ	XO
XOCKЄOCHBЄOVKЄ	Υ

AЄITOCKЄNЄCTωPIC

At the ruined town of *Suleim*, 1 h. 35 m. S. by W. from Shuhba, are the remains of a beautiful temple. The portico has fallen, but on a large stone among its ruins we succeeded after much difficulty in copying the following inscription. It appears from it that this is the site of the ancient *Neapolis* mentioned in the Notit. Eccles. in connexion with Canatha, Dionysias and others. (See C. a. S. Paulo, Geogr. Sac. p. 295.) The letters are well cut, but are now much defaced.

9.

MNHMAMEOPAIΣΠΕΡΙΚΑΛΛΕΣΑΟΙΔΙΜΟΝΑΙ
ΕΝΟΔΙΤΑΙΣΕΟΙΔΕΜΟΥΚΟΥΠΕΡΒΕΠΕΛΕΙΑΩΝ
ΔΟΗΟΣΕΠΥΣΡΟΥΦΙΝΟΣΔΕΗΕΤΕΥ≷ΕΒΕ
ΟΥΔΙΟΤΗΤΙΤΕΤΑΓΜΑΙΓΗΡΑΛΕΟΥΣΔΕ≷ΑΙ
ΒΑΙΑΤΑΡΝΕΟΝΟΥΠΟΤΕΠΑΝΠΑΝΕΙΜΙΔ
ΛΑΥΠΟΤΑΤΟΣΚΑΙΝΤΗΡΠΑΝΤΕΣΙΝΕΤΟΙΗΟΣ
ΥΙΑΣΙΒΥΙωΝΟΙΣΤΕΠΟΑΥΠΡωΤΙΓΗΡΑΣΙΟΥ
ΕΝΕΑΔΟΣΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΣΕΝΕΥΤΥΧ

On the right side of the entrance-gate of the Castle of *Sulkhad*, is the following inscription in rude characters, and now nearly illegible.

10.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ	ΒΟΡΔΟCCΑ
ΘΑΜΟCΝΑЄΜ	ЄΠΚΚΟΠΟΙCΚΤ
CΑΘΑΟCCΙΧΜΟ	ωΝΤΟΥΘЄΟΥЄΚΤΙCΑ
ΒΑCCΟCΟΥΛΠΙΟΥ	ЄΤΟΥC $\overline{\text{PM}}$

The large and very ancient town of *Kureiyeh* is situated in the stony plain at the foot of the mountains, an hour and a half N. 84 E. of Busrah. Few cities in the Haurân are of greater extent, and none of more remote antiquity. It is probably the *Kerioth* mentioned by Jeremiah, with Bozrah and Beth-gamul (Jer. 48 : 23 and 24). On an old tower I made out with much difficulty the following inscription.

11.

ΙΦΑΘΗCΑΜΙΜϚЄЄΟC	ϚΤЄΚΝΟΝЄΤΧCΦΔΧΡΙΓ
CΥΜΒΙΟϑΑΝΝΑЄΚЄΔΓ	ΝΟΚ+CΑΛΑΝΟΜ
ΤΙCΑΤΟΜЄΜΔΡΙΝЄCCΑΓΟΛ	

The following inscription we found on a large stone at an ancient temple, beside the village of *Hebrân*. This village, or rather town, is finely situated on the summit of a lofty hill, S. 18 W. of the Kuleib, distant about an hour and a half. The stone now forms part of the roof of a large chamber of comparatively recent construction; but wholly composed of the ruins of the temple. We were informed by the old man who led us to the spot, that it was only lately brought to light by the removal of the clay and lime with which the roof had been covered. It is important as containing a well known date, and celebrated names.

12.

1. ΥΠΕΡΕΩΤΗΡΙΑΕΚΥΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΕΑΡΟΕΤΙΤΥΑΙΑΙΟΥ
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ
2. ΕΕΒΑΕΤΟΥΕΥΕΕΒΟΥΕΟΝΑΟΕΕΚΤΩΝΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΩΝ
ΕΚΤΙΕΘΗΕΤΟΥΕΟΚΤΩΚΑΙ
3. ΔΕΚΑΤΟΥΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥΚΑΙΕΑΡΟΕΠΡΟΝΟΗΕΑΜΕΝΩΝ
ΑΡΙΕΤΕΙΔΟΥΟΑΙΜΟΥΟΑΙΘΕΛΟΥ
4. ΕΜΜΕΠΑΟΥΕΜΜΕΓΑΝΗΧΑΜΕΝΟΥΕΓΔΚΥΝΘΑΙΜΟΥ
ΑΒΧΟΡΟΥΕΝΟΥΜΑΕΕΧΟΥΕΜΜΕΓΑΝΝΑΡΟΥΙΕΡΟΤΑΜΙΩΝ

This is one of the most beautiful inscriptions I have ever seen in this country. It is now as perfect as the day it was finished.

. . . . . .

Believe me, dear Sir, yours very truly and respectfully,

J. L. Porter.

Rev. Dr. Robinson, New York.

Rev. Dr. Robinson:

Dear Sir,—None of the inscriptions copied by Mr. Porter in the Haurân, are to be found in Boeckh's collection. Burckhardt visited the places called by Mr. Porter Hit, Sulkhad, Kureiyeh, Hebrân, but did not notice these inscriptions. Most of them are intelligible; but there are two or three of which I can make nothing. I send you back the letter of Mr. Porter, to be published, if you think fit, in the Journal of the Oriental Society, together with copies of the inscriptions, corrected to the best of my power. I am indebted to Prof. Hadley for valuable suggestions.

1. *Ἄβεβος Ἄὔμου καὶ Ἄὔμος υἱοῖς Σαβάου θειοῦ τὸ* [*μνημειῖ*]*ον* [*ἐ*]*ποίησαν.*

The name Abebus is found in No. 5,—there spelt Abibus, and in Boeckh's C. I., n. 4560, where it is Ababus. Aumus occurs in No. 3. I have written *Σαβάου* for *Ἀβάου*, because the former is elsewhere to be met with, and one of the sigmas may easily have been overlooked. See No. 10.

2. *Μάνος Θαίμου καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ ἔδωκαν ἐκ τῆς οἰκοδομικῆς?* * * Below I seem to read *Χειλίας*, i. e. *Χιλίας*, and then follows what may be *καὶ τὴν Σύραν εὐσέβουν*. *ἐκτο κυρίων* suggests *ἐκ τῶν τῶν κυρίων*. Comp. *ἐκ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου*, B. n. 4523. For Thaimus, see No. 10.

3. *Πρόκλος Ἄὔμου τῷ Θεῷ τὸν Γαννυμήδην ἐξ ἰδίων ὑπὲρ Ἄὔμου υἱοῦ ἀνέθηκεν.*

In B. n. 4596 there is mention of a Theophilus, who *τὸν Γαννμήδην ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνήγειρεν.*

4. *Αἴλιος Μάξιμος ἔπαρχος τῇ πατρίδι ἔκτισεν διὰ Ἡρώδου Ἡρώδου ἰδίου, καὶ διὰ Φιλίππου Μάλχου, καὶ Ἄδδου Ἀκραβάνου ἐπιμελητῶν.*

What does *ἰδίου* mean?

5. With the necessary corrections in the text, this inscription runs thus:

Ὄλβιε ἀνδρῶν Φίλιππε δουκηνάριε τάξεως δουκός, ὃς μνῆμα σὺν αὐλῇ (?) ἐκ θεμελίων ἐγείρας, ἀμφήρεψας σὺν ἡδείᾳ παρακοίτι καὶ τέκνοις εἰς κλέος ἀεί, καὶ Σαλαμάνης.

The word writen *ηυλι* in the original may be a proper name. As I read, the sense is that Philip, a ducenarius, reared the tomb with a court or open place about it from the foundations, and roofed it around together with his wife and children. The last words *καὶ Σαλαμάνης* seem to be added afterwards. Do they indicate that a person of that name became owner or was buried in the tomb? Salamanes is the name of a Syrian deity in B. n. 4449, 4451.

After reading what Gothofred (Cod. Theodos.), Ducange (Gloss. Med. et Inf. Græc.), and Rein in Pauly's Real-Encycl. have said about ducenarii, I cannot feel quite sure what the *ducenarius cohortis ducis* here spoken of was, and must leave the determination of the point to persons better acquainted with the institutions of the later Roman empire. The very rare word *ἀμφήρεψας* (if that be the true reading), might easily be misspelt by the stone-cutter.

6. *Αὖσος Γαύτου Θεωρὸς Πασιθείνου, Νένος Ἀβίβου, Ἄναμος Γαύτου, Ζόβεδος Ναταμέλου ἐπιστάται (?) ἀνήγειραν τὸ τυχεῖον ἐκ τῶν τῆ[ς πόλεως].* *Θεωρὸς* may be a proper name, perhaps miscopied: if it is an official title we should read *Πάσις Θείνου.* *Ναταμέλου* ought to be perhaps *Ναταναέλου.* *Γαῦτος* occurs more than once in Syrian inscriptions, and the same is true of *Ζόβεδος*, spelt *Ζοβάϊδος.* Comp. B. n. 4518, 4519, 4604, 4613, 4635 for the former, and n. 4560, 4573 for the latter. The name Sanamus, as read by Franz in B. n. 4567, 4658, must, I think, be identified with Anamus of this inscription.

7. *Αἴρηδος Ὀμαίμου ἄωρος ἐτῶν ιε.* (or *ε.* simply; *N* being for *I* or repeated by mistake).

A name *Ὄναινος* is found in B. n. 4559, 4574, and is perhaps the true reading here.

8. I can make next to nothing of this. At the top appears *καὶ Πρίσκος ἐφίστατο,* which is to be taken, perhaps, as following the last words *καὶ Ἄειτος καὶ Νέστωρις.* Below *ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ* the name of some one *ἀπὸ κώμης* may have been mentioned.

9. This interesting and well preserved inscription in hexameters, with the necessary corrections, is as follows:

μνῆμα μ'ὁρᾷς περικαλλὲς ἀοίδιμον αἰὲν ὀδίταις·
ἔστι δέ μου καθύπερθε πελειάων δόμος αἰπύς·
Ῥούφινος δέ μ'ἔτευξε, θεοῦ δ'ἰότητι τέταγμαι
γηραλέους δέξασθαι, ἀτὰρ νέον οὔποτε πάμπαν·
εἰμὶ δ' ἀλυπότατος κλιντῆρ, πάντεσσιν ἑτοῖμος
υἱάσι θ' υἱωνοῖς τε πολὺ πρὸτι γῆρας ἰοῦσιν.
Αἰνέαδος Νεοπολίτης οἰκοδόμησεν. εὐτυχῶς.

In line 1, με is unelided and ορᾳις is owing to the stone-cutter's making the straight mark of Ε twice. In l. 2, it seems necessary to read ECTI for EOI, and in ΚΟΥΠΕΡΒΕ, Α must have been overlooked by the copyist, and Ο and Β read wrong for Θ, which is the easier mistake in the second instance, as its square form in the rest of the inscription resembles Β. For this form, the oldest specimens of which belong to the century before our era, comp. Franz, Elem. Epigraph. Graec. p. 281. For Μ in lines 3 and 6 resembling Η, see the same work, p. 245. ΕΠΥΣ, in l. 2, is a common misspelling of the stone-cutter for ΑΙΠΥΣ. So perhaps in the name Αἰνέαδος, which is unique. ΠΡΩΤΙ in l. 6 is another mistake of the stone-cutter. In the same line ΣΙΝ must be supplied. Νεοπολίτης is singular.

Was the cote for wild pigeons built to keep them from tenanting and defiling the tomb? For the conceit expressive of a wish that all the posterity of the proprietor may die old, comp. another Syrian inscr. in B. n. 4598, where we read

βουλαῖσι δ' ἀειζώοιο θεοῖο
γηραλέους πάντας μάλα δέξομαι, εὖτ' ἂν ἕκαστος
τέρμα ποτὶ σφέτερον βιοτῆς πεπρωμένον ἔλθῃ.

10. Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ Θά[ϊ]μος Ναέμ[ου], Σάβαος Σίχμου, Βάσσος Οὐλπίου, Βόρδος Σα[βάου?] ἐπίσκοποι ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἔκτισα[ν]. Ἔτους ϱ̅ϙ̅α̅.

I read Σάβαος for Σάθαος. The former name is found in B. n. 4626, and may easily be derived from a Semitic root, while Β can with equal ease be confounded with Θ. (See the last inscr.) A Bassus son of Ulpius occurs in an inscription found by Burckhardt at Kefr el-Loehha. Comp. B. n. 4585. It is strange that that distinguished traveller should have overlooked the present inscription over the castle-gate of Sulkhad, which he visited, and where he found the same name Bassus (B. n. 4641). The year, if of the Pompeian era, answers to A. D. 178; if of the era of Bostra, to A. D. 243. See Franz, in the Addenda to B. vol. 3, p. 1182, who there decides in the case of a neighboring town in favor of the latter era.

11. I make nothing out of this inscription. A few words, as σύμβιον, ἔκτισα τὸ μνῆμα and τέκνον, may be traced.

12. *ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας κυρίου Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριάνου Ἀντωνείνου Σεβάστου Εὐσεβοῦς ὁ ναὸς ἐκ τῶν ἱερατικῶν ἐκτίσθη ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος, προνοησαμένων Ἀριστείδου, Θαΐμου, Οαιθέλου (?), Ἐμμέπλου, Ἐμμεγανηχαμένου (?) ἐκδίκων, Θαΐμου, Ἀβχόρου, Ἔνου, Μασέχου, Ἐμμεγαννάρου ἱεροταμιῶν.*

This inscription belongs to A. D. 155 or 156. The fifth name is so portentously long as to excite suspicion that two names may be contained in it, as *Ἐμμεγαννάρου Χαμένου*. The letters following this name seem to belong to *ἐκδίκων*, a word used by Cicero to denote the syndics or counsellors of towns in Asia Minor. (Epist. in Fam. 13, 71.)

We find in these inscriptions a number of Syrian proper names which are to be met with upon other monuments, and some nineteen which are new. To the former class belong Abebus, Sabaus, Thaimus, Malchus, Salamanes, Gautus, Zobedus, Natanaelus, Onainus. To the latter, so far as I have examined, belong Aumus, Manus, Addus, Acrabanus, Ausus, Pasitheinus (?), Nenus, Anamus, Airedus, Naëmus, Sichmus, Bordus, Oaithelus (?), Emmeplus, Emmegannarus, Abchorus, Enus, Masechus. Some of these are readily traceable to Semitic roots, and even have equivalents in the Scriptures. Thus with Naemus we may compare Naam (1 Chron. 4 : 15), from נעם *to be sweet;* with Bordus, Bered (1 Chron. 7 : 20); with Sichmus, Shechem (1 Chron. 7 : 19). Would it not repay some one skilled in the Semitic dialects to make a collection of the Syrian names found upon the monuments and trace them to their roots?

T. D. Woolsey.

II. Armenian Traditions about Mt. Ararat.

We have before us a communication from Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, American Missionary at Constantinople, on Mount Masis, as the resting-place of the ark after the deluge. We extract from it some Armenian traditionary notices concerning places in the neighbourhood of that locality.

The mountain on which, according to ancient Armenian tradition, and the general opinion of the learned in Europe, the ark of Noah rested after the deluge, is called in Armenian Ա՛ռաիս, *Masis*, and in Turkish اغر طاغ *Aghur Dagh*, i. e. Heavy Mountain. This mountain is situated almost in the centre of ancient Armenia, in the valley of the river Araxes, bearing North 57° East from Nakhichevan, and South 25° West from Erivan.

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On the eastern side of Mt. Ararat is the district of *Arnoiodn* Արնոյոտն, which name is composed of three Armenian words, namely, *առ ar*, at, *Նոյ Noi*, Noah, *ոտն odn*, foot, i. e. "at Noah's foot" or "feet," the singular being often put, in the Armenian, for the plural. The tradition is, that Noah, in descending from the ark, first planted his feet on the ground in this district.

Near by, in the same district, is a village called *Argoori* Արկուռի, from *արկ arg*, the preterite third person singular of *արկանել arganel*, to plant, and *ուռի oori*, willow, i. e. "he (Noah) planted the willow."

Farther to the East, towards Tabriz, is the town of *Marant* Մարանդ, a name which the Armenians derive from two words, *մայր mair*, mother, and *անդ ant*, there, i. e. "the mother is there," the current tradition being that the wife of Noah was interred in that place.

But the most singular of all these traditionary etymologies is that of the well known town of *Nakhchevan*, or more properly *Nakhichevan*. In the Armenian, this name is composed of two words, *նախ nakh*, first, and *իջևան ichevan*, descent, or resting-place, i. e. "the first descent" or "the first resting place," which they say is the first place of abode built by Noah and his sons after the flood.

Whatever may be the fact in regard to the other names mentioned, this one is known by other than Armenian authority to be quite ancient. Nor can it be accounted for on the ground that the Armenians devised this name in order to give strength to their tradition about Mt. Ararat and the ark; for it is proved by ancient historians of other nations, that both the name and the tradition existed hundreds of years before the Armenians embraced Christianity, when they were heathen idolaters, and knew nothing of Bible-history. Josephus, as has already been mentioned, refers to this very place, not giving its Armenian name, but the translation of it in Greek, and also recording the tradition of the Armenians, then a heathen people, in regard to its origin. His words are: "The Armenians call this place *the place of descent;* for, the ark being saved in that place, its remains are shown there by the inhabitants to this day."*

The geographer Ptolemy, writing about one hundred and fifty years after Christ, speaks of the town of Nakhichevan, under the Greek form of Naxuana, which he locates just in that part of Armenia where the present town of that name is found.† Now, as the Armenians were not converted to Christianity until after the beginning of

* Αποβατήριον μέντοι τὸν τόπον τοῦτον Ἀρμένιοι καλοῦσιν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀνασωθῆσι τὸ λάρ-νακος ἐπῶν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τὰ λείψανα ἐπιδεικνύουσι. *Jewish Antiq.* B. 1, C. 3, § 5.

† *Ptolem. Geog.* Bk. 6, Ch. 2, as quoted by St. Martin.

the fourth century, this traditionary etymology of the name Nakhichevan derives a remarkable corroboration from these historic records.

I know it has been asserted that a number of Jews emigrated to Armenia before the Christian era,* and established themselves chiefly in the valley of the Araxes, and that they may have given to the town in question the name of Nakhichevan, in order to give currency to a national tradition of theirs connecting Mt. Ararat with the ark. In regard to this I would say:

1. That it is a highly improbable thing that a comparatively small body of Jewish emigrants should have given an Armenian name to an Armenian town, where they happened to be living, in order to give currency to a mere tradition connected with their own religion, and that diametrically opposed to the religion of the country. Probably a parallel case cannot be found in the world.

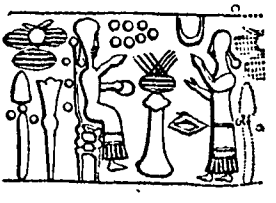
2. It is still more improbable that the Armenians, while still heathens, should so generally have adopted this name, and connected with it a belief that it commemorated the event referred to, and that the remains of the ark were still preserved in the immediate neighborhood (as Josephus says they did), merely on the dictum of a band of stranger Jews that had come to settle among them.

3. And even if this very improbable supposition were true, then it very naturally follows that the Jews in question really believed that Mt. Ararat was the mountain upon which the ark rested, which certainly must be regarded as a much earlier tradition than any that can be brought in favor of Mt. Joodi, in Koordistan, the only other locality which has any substantial claims.

III. Remarks on Two Assyrian Cylinders Received from Mosûl.

No. 1.

No. 2.



These cuts represent in full size the designs engraved upon two Assyrian cylinders which were sent to this country by the late Dr. Henry Lobdell, missionary at Mosûl, and are now deposited in the

* See Faust. Byzant. Bk. 4, Ch. 55, as quoted by St. Martin.

Cabinet of the Oriental Society. Where they were found we have no precise information.

No. 1. is engraved upon a cylinder of red jasper, with a hole through the length of it of which the bore is imperfect. It must have been cut with some instrument like a graver's style of the present day.

No. 2. is engraved upon a cylinder of bluish chalcedony, which has a well bored hole running through it lengthwise. This appears to have been executed by drilling.

Both are very interesting, especially for the light which they seem to throw upon a common representation on the gypsum-slabs of Nineveh, hitherto not satisfactorily explained. The design No. 1. is said by Dr. Lobdell to be "very rare," and it is not known that either of the designs has been found before upon Assyrian or Babylonian cylinders. The relation of the two to each other, also, adds to their value. Taken together, they in a great measure explain themselves. But the researches relative to the worship of the cypress among the nations of antiquity, by M. Lajard, published in the *Mémoires de l'Institut*, t. xx. Paris: 1854, confirm and complete the explanation which mere inspection and comparison of the two very naturally suggests. The following is the explanation which we venture to propose.

In No. 1. the centre of the scene is the pyramidal cypress, which represents by its androgynous nature the supposed union of the male and female principles in the supreme divinity of the Assyrians, or, as here, the female principle alone, which was personified by Mylitta. Over the cypress is the sun's disk, with wings, crowned by two serpents united at the tail, which represents the male principle of the Assyrians, which was personified by Belus. The explanation thus far is corroborated by the two objects delineated on the right and left, respectively, of the tree.* The human figures facing the tree, with heads raised to the sun's disk, and attired with wings, are priests. Their action is two-fold. They are evidently lighting cones of the cypress in the rays of the sun, and at the same time receiving an effluence or radiation from the great source of heat and light, which they direct upon the tree, or upon the symbols on either side of it. This two-fold action signifies the union of the male and female principles of deity, supposed to be the origin of creation.

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* Can the symbolic use of the device on the left of the tree have any connection with the established import of and in the Khorsabad inscriptions, the first of these signs being used as a determinative before names of men, and the second as an ideograph for "son of"? See what is said below, on the forms of symbols of the male and female principles on No. 2.

The applicability of this explanation to the illustration of the very similar device so common on the sculptured slabs of Nineveh, will be apparent to any one who recalls the latter to mind. One point of difference, however, deserves special notice. On those slabs, instead of the hand of the priest directing the effluence from the sun upon the tree, we have a basket held in his hand, which, as Layard says, appears to be of metal in the earlier sculptures, and may be so in all.* This basket must be intended to denote the conveyance of the sun's influence, represented by the lighted cone, to the tree. A reason for the difference here pointed out is discoverable in the circumstance that on the slabs the sun's disk is not introduced; so that the union of the two principles could not be expressed without some such expedient. For the same reason, this union is indicated on the slabs, not by the action of lighting the cone, but by the action of bringing it, after being lighted, into contact with the tree.

No. 2. is closely analogous to No. 1., but exhibits the same idea in a form more fully siderian and probably more ancient. In this, the centre of the principal scene is a fire-altar, with flames darting upwards from it; above which appear seven disks, representing the seven stellar orbs: the sun, moon and Mercury, Jupiter and Venus, Saturn and Mars. On one side of the altar, and a little above it, is seen a crescent moon. That the sacred fire and the moon, together, here symbolize the male and female principles, is partly indicated by the symbol beneath the moon, while the shape of the altar itself completes the expression of the idea. Of the human figures facing the altar, one standing and the other seated, the one on the right hand seems to be performing both actions, with reference to the sacred fire, that the person on the corresponding side of No. 1. performs with reference to the sun. Here the radiation of the sacred fire is plainly directed upon the symbol beneath the moon. The action of the figure on the left also includes the lighting of a cone by the fire on the altar, but in its left hand seems to be held a basket. This accords with the reason just proposed for the presence of the basket on the slabs of Nineveh, for on the left of the fire-altar no representation of the female principle is present. The actions of these two figures exhibit, in forms not quite identical with each other, the same idea which is conveyed by the two-fold action of the figures on No. 1.

Between the backs of these two figures the two principles are again represented by symbols which may easily be recognized; and over which hovers the winged sun's disk, darting its rays upon them. Between the sun's disk and the symbols of the two principles, and on either side of one of the latter, appear five disks, signifying, probably, the five stellar orbs exclusive of the sun and moon. These

* *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 305.

symbols are themselves, too, each marked with a disk, connecting their cosmological import with the sun and moon as rulers of the heavens.

The symbolic forms of the two principles beneath the sun's disk on No. 2. strike the eye, at once, as identical with the so-called arrow-head and wedge of which the various characters of the cuneiform inscriptions, in all their varieties, are made up. It seems evident that the application of these forms to the expression of thought in historical and other monuments had a sacred origin.

It would be rash to hazard any conjecture as to the absolute age of these cylinders. But, while the design No. 2. is evidently more primitive than No. 1., the presence of the sun's disk upon the latter, whereby it differs, as is believed, from all the discovered slabs of Nineveh, on which the other parts of the same scene are represented, would seem to show that both cylinders express the idea intended to be conveyed by such representations, in an earlier form than the slabs.

E. E. S.

IV. Vestiges of Buddhism in Micronesia.

In Horatio Hale's *Ethnography and Philology*, Philad. 1846, p. 78, is the following notice concerning Tobi, or Lord North's Island, which forms the southwestern extremity of the Micronesian range.

"According to the native traditions, a personage, by name *Pita-kāt* (or Peeter Kart), of copper colour like themselves, came many years ago from the island of Ternate (one of the Moluccas), and gave them their religion, and such simple arts as they possessed. It is probably to him that we are to attribute some peculiarities in their mode of worship, such as their temple with rude images to represent the divinity. In the centre, suspended from the roof, is a sort of altar, into which they suppose their deity comes to hold converse with the priest. The temple is called *vĕre yaris*, or spirit-house."

There is evidently in this statement an allusion to Buddhism, although the author seems not to have been aware of it, and although the facts themselves are greatly corrupted.

Pita-kāt, instead of being the name of a missionary, is the name of the sacred books of the Buddhists, which are called *Tri-pittaka* or *Bedagat*. The *vĕre yaris* are the *vihâras*, or cloisters, of the Buddhist monks. Both of these terms occur abundantly in the *Memoir on the History of Buddhism* in the first volume of this Journal.

This vestige of Buddhism in Micronesia is the more important, as this portion of the Pacific Ocean is now visited by missionaries and intelligent navigators.

J. W. G.

V. Bibliographical Notices.

1. *Bopp's Comparative Accentuation of the Greek and Sanskrit Languages.*

(Read before the Society May 23, 1855.)

Vergleichendes Accentuationssystem, nebst einer gedrängten Darstellung der grammatischen Uebereinstimmungen, des Sanskrit und Griechischen, von Franz Bopp. Berlin: Dümmler, 1854. 8vo, pp. viii. 304.

The work of which the title is here given has been recently issued from the press, in fulfilment of a promise already some time since made by its learned and venerable author. It may be regarded as in a certain sense a supplement to his great work, the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European Languages. Neither external circumstances, nor the nature of the case itself, permitted him to include the department of accentuation along with those of phonology and inflection, in the plan of the Grammar. When the publication of the latter was commenced (in 1833), both the rules and the illustrations of Sanskrit accent were still buried in the manuscripts, and it was not until ten years later that Böhtlingk's most timely and welcome First Attempt respecting the Accent in Sanskrit, introduced the subject to the attention of scholars, and initiated the investigations which soon placed it in great measure within their knowledge. And even then there was no good reason for taking note of it in a general comparative grammar. The ground of comparison was too limited: the various sub-families, and even closely kindred dialects had deviated too widely from their original and from one another in respect to accent, to furnish matter for extended discussion and statement. In the case of almost every one of them, some general accentual law had spread its influence through the whole mass of words and forms, modifying original variety into regulated similarity. The phenomena which the different languages thus came to exhibit are highly curious and interesting: they are in part stated by our author in his Preface. Of the nearly related Latin and Greek, the former had (not without retaining plain indications of an earlier different state of things; see Dietrich in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. i.) confined its accent to two syllables, the penult and antepenult, and made its choice between the two on strictly quantitative grounds: the Greek allowed it upon one of three, the three last, and was but partially limited by quantity in its selection among them. The Teutonic languages have established in the main, and with but unimportant variations among the single dialects, what is called the logical principle, accenting the radical, or most significant syllable. Of the

Slavic dialects, some, prominent among which is the Russian, have maintained down to the present time an entire freedom of place for the accent: but the Polish accents invariably the penult, and the Bohemian as invariably the initial syllable. The Lettish follows likewise the latter method, of initial accent, while its nearest relation, the Lithuanian, is unfettered, like the Russian. The Celtic dialects show an equal diversity when compared with one another, the Welsh laying the stress of voice upon its penult, like the Polish, the Irish upon its first syllable, like the Bohemian and Lettish. The Sanskrit itself was found to allow its accent to rest upon any syllable of a word, whatever might be the quantity of the former or the length of the latter.

Not to inquire at present which of all these methods of accentuation is most ancient, or whether it is possible to claim the honor of primitiveness for any one of them, it is plain that any particular comparative treatment of Indo-European accent is not practicable. As between the Sanskrit and the Lithuanian and Russian, indeed, ground for comparison might be supposed likely to be found; yet the two latter dialects stand so far removed in point of time, place, and degree of development, from the former, that on the whole but few interesting resemblances are to be traced out; such as were still discoverable have been carefully collected by our author, and are presented in the course of his work. With the Sanskrit and the Greek, however, the case is widely different: the remarkable analogies existing between the systems of accentuation of these two languages were noticed from the first with much interest, and have more than once been made the subject of treatment, although never with anything like the fulness and completeness which the book before us aims at and attains. The laws to which the Greek accent has been compelled to submit, limiting the stress of voice to the last three, or, in case of a long final vowel, the last two syllables of the word, restrict, of course, to a certain extent, the parallelism; yet so numerous and comprehensive are the forms and classes of words on which these laws have exerted no modifying influence, that the sphere of comparison is less narrowed by them than might be anticipated. It is rather in the case of the longer compounded verbal forms, denominatives, secondary derivatives, compounds, and the like, which, being of later growth and less regular formation, would not at any rate be expected to exhibit so close resemblances, that the probability of the latter is in advance greatly diminished by the restrictions imposed upon the freedom of the Greek accent.

The work before us then exhibits, with the clearness and distinctness which is wont to characterize the productions of its author, the phenomena of the agreement and disagreement of the Greek and Sanskrit accentuation, throughout the departments of declension,

conjugation, and word-formation. And as the forms could not be placed side by side for the purpose of a comparison of their accent, without showing at the same time their other resemblances, the same work serves also as an almost complete comparative grammar of the two languages. Its interest and value are so evident, that we surely do not need to spend time in recommending it to the attention of all who give themselves to higher philological studies. We will therefore rather occupy ourselves here with the consideration of a few points of which our author's treatment appears not to be entirely satisfactory and successful. The chief strength of the work, it may be remarked, lies in its industrious compilation and lucid presentation of the external phenomena themselves which in the two languages under discussion admit of comparison; and considering especially how imperfectly those of the Sanskrit had as yet been examined and systematized, and how much accordingly of that preliminary labor which should fall rather to the share of one specially versed in a language, and which a general philologist like our author may expect to find already performed for him, remained for himself to accomplish, the success of his collection is worthy of all praise and acknowledgment. His general views and explanatory theories, on the other hand, are less happy, and seem to betray sometimes a lack of the clearest insight into the character of the facts with which he deals.

This is notably the case with his explanation of the Sanskrit accents (pp. 11–16). He fails to make a distinct exhibition of his subject, and misses the opportunity of pointing out a striking correspondence between the two languages which he wishes to compare. It can hardly be said, indeed, that we receive any proper account of the nature of the Sanskrit accents. We are simply informed that they are two, called the *udâtta* and the *svarita*, the former corresponding to the Greek acute, while the latter is found much more rarely, and only on syllables of a certain character; what is the physical relation of the two, and why the one is so limited in its range, we do not learn; the whole manner in which our author speaks of the *svarita*, indeed, shows that it was to him a mysterious something, of which he did not comprehend the properties. So he says, for instance (p. 13), that "from the circumstance that in all cases the *svarita* extends itself over two vowels at once, we must necessarily conclude that it is a weaker accent than the *udâtta* or acute, which falls with its whole weight upon a single point, while the force of the *svârita* is broken by its being drawn out over two vowels," etc.; surely a very unsatisfactory determination of the relations subsisting between the two, particularly as it seems quite as natural to regard that accent which brings two vowels under its sway as more powerful than that of which the authority is confined to a single vowel.

Let us inquire a little into what constitutes in general the accent of a word. The answer is readily given, that it is a stress of voice laid upon one of the syllables composing the word. But in what consists the expression of this stress of voice? is it simply a more forcible utterance of the accented syllable, in the same musical tone in which the others are uttered, or is it accompanied by a change of pitch, an elevation of the voice? The latter, certainly, as is allowed by all who have treated of the accent, and as any one may readily convince himself by experiment. It is indeed practicable to communicate the stress without at the same time raising the tone, but one must watch himself narrowly, and exercise some constraint upon the organs, in order to accomplish it. It is so easy and natural a process: the vocal cords being stretched to a certain degree of tension, the special effort, which expels through them a fuller and more rapid current of air, at once sets them vibrating on a higher key. And this elevation of pitch is even the more prominent element of the effect produced: especially may we suppose this to have been the case in those ancient languages whose absolute accent, or tension of voice, was so weak as to allow the quantity of syllables to remain the guiding and controlling motive in the construction of verse: there, at any rate, the accent will have consisted mainly in the alteration of the tone. This is entirely in harmony with the descriptions given us by the ancient grammarians; so the usual Sanskrit accent is called *udâtta* "raised, elevated," and Pâṇini and his predecessors agree in defining it as the utterance of a syllable *uccâis* "in a high tone," in distinction from other syllables, which are spoken *nîcâis* "in a low tone," and are called *anudâtta* "not elevated:" the Greek acute is similarly described; and as we can find no ground, either in theory or in the facts, for questioning the accuracy of these definitions, we may unhesitatingly admit them as accurate, and regard the equality of the principal and most frequent accent in the two languages as established beyond question.

How is it then farther as regards the circumflex and the *svarita?* And how are we, in the first place, to explain at all the existence of another and different accent by the side of the one already treated of? It is to be noted that the elevation of the voice, or its depression again to the ordinary level, may be not so instantaneously effected as not to be perceptible in the process; and may take place within the limits of the accented syllable, instead of between it and its predecessor or successor. That is to say, the accented syllable may be commenced upon the general pitch, and made to rise, so that (to avail ourselves of the Indian terminology) its beginning is *ânudâtta*, and its end *udâtta*, or the process may be reversed, and its commencement may be elevated, its final mora reverting to the undistinguished level. Neither would be likely to be the case ex-

cepting in a syllable containing a long vowel or a diphthong, and thus affording space and leisure for making audible such a process; and this would be especially favored, it should seem, by an improper diphthong, so called, of which the two component vowels retain still so much unblended individuality that they are hardly less capable of exhibiting a difference of accentuation, as regards one another, than would be two distinct syllables. Now, for whatever reason, it is found that in the actual usage of language only the latter of the two cases, that in which the syllable commences upon the higher key and is brought back to the lower, has been recognized as calling for especial notice in designating the accentuation. Of such character, namely, the Greek circumflex plainly appears to be; a combination of acute and grave, *udâtta* and *anudâtta*, within the limits of a single syllable. It is not necessary to review here the evidence upon which this account of its nature is founded: the writers on the theory of the Greek accent, ancient and modern, so explain it, and without doubt correctly: we pass to the Sanskrit *svarita*.

The *svarita* is said by Pâṇini (1. 2. 31), to be a "conjunction" of the other two (*udâtta* and *anudâtta*), and its commencing half-mora is said to be *udâtta*. Precisely the same description, in effect, is given of it in the Prâtiçâkhyas (so that to the Atharva-Veda, 1. 17, says "half a mora at the beginning of a *svarita* is *udâtta*"). Nothing could be plainer or more intelligible than this definition, and we shall not be justified in rejecting it unless the evidence afforded by the phenomena of the language should be clearly and decisively against it. That, however, is not the case; they rather speak conclusively in its favor, as we shall perceive upon taking note of some of the main circumstances connected with the occurrence of the accent. The Sanskrit *svarita* is, upon the whole, not very frequently met with: in the actual accented language laid before us in the texts of the Vedas, it is in the majority of instances the product of the euphonic rules, and we will accordingly first consider it as so originated. When a final *i* or *u* (short or long), comes to stand in the sentence before a dissimilar initial vowel, the two syllables are combined into one, the former vowel being converted into its corresponding semivowel, *y* or *v*: if, now, the final vowel has been *udâtta* and the initial *anudâtta*, the resulting syllable has the *svarita*: so *ví* and *agât*, on being written together, form *vyàgât* (to indicate, as our author does, the *svarita* by the grave accent). Here there is, in fact, no real change of accent: each constituent of the new syllable retains its old tone: the vowel is *anudâtta* as before; the semivowel still retains enough of the vowel quality in its pronunciation to be capable of an elevated utterance, as *udâtta*; and the result is precisely the *svarita* which the grammarians describe. Or one may prefer to say that the semivowel partially assimilates the vowel, and

that half a mora of the *a* itself is uttered in the higher key: the effect is the same; the combined syllable retains and represents the accents of both its constituents. In the much more numerous cases where an accented final vowel coalesces with an unaccented initial into a long vowel or diphthong, the same result, as regards the accent, might be looked for: yet the general tendency of the language is too strongly against the breaking down of the accent within the limits of the accented syllable to allow of this: grammatical theory does indeed permit the exhibition of the *svarita* in every such instance, and in a single text, the Çatapatha Brâhmaṇa, that is made the invariable rule; but in ordinary Vedic usage, the accented portion of the compound elevates the unaccented to its own level, and the whole is *udâtta*. A single exception is made: if a short accented *i* coalesces with a short or long unaccented *i*, the long *î* which they together form still retains the accentuation of both its elements, and is *svarita:* the Atharva Prâtiçâkhya expressly exempts from the influence of the rule the case of a long accented *î'* uniting with the unaccented vowel: the first element is there strong enough to assimilate the other, and the result is an *udâtta*. It is not easy to see why a like coalescence of two *u*'s should not be subject to the same laws: perhaps the case is not provided for only because it so very rarely, if ever, occurs: it never, at any rate, presents itself in the Atharva, nor have we remarked it in such parts of the other Vedas as have come under our examination. There is one more method in which a *svarita* is originated: when a final *ó* or *é* causes the elision of a following initial *a* (unaccented), the former has its *udâtta* converted into *svarita;* so *indró agât* becomes *indrò 'gât*. The whole phenomenon of this elision is not easily to be explained phonetically; it seems clear, however, that the vowel is regarded as in some manner absorbed into the preceding diphthong and made a part of it, and its accentuation is represented in the compound by the reduction of the voice to the general level before the close of the syllable. Thus far we have had only cases of the production of the *svarita* by the action of the rules of Sandhi: there are others, however, of not frequent occurrence, in which a word, as written in the present state of the language, has the *svarita* instead of the *udâtta* resting upon its accented syllable. All such cases belong to the class of those first mentioned above, the syllable containing before its vowel a *y* or *v;* and this *y* or *v* is, no less than the other, a product of euphonic rules from an original *i* or *u:* the accent points us back (as remarked by Böhtlingk; Erster Versuch, etc. § 4.) to a time when the syllable was pronounced as two, of which the first was accented: it is well known that in the Vedic language these syllables are often, even generally, to be so divided in reading, in order to fill out the measure: so *svàr, kvà* are to be read *sú-ar, kú-a,* to which the other

forms are equivalent (when Mr. Bopp, p. 13, says the contrary, he is simply in error); in like manner *âcâryà* equals, and is to be pronounced, *âcâri-a*, *vîryà vîri-a:* had the accent been originally *sv-ár*, *ku-á*, *âcâri-á*, *vîri-á*, the syllables would, when combined into one, have preserved the *udâtta* belonging to the vowel which still remained the vowel of the syllable. But besides these words, of which the themes themselves have the *svarita*, there is a class which come to exhibit the same accent upon some of their cases in the course of declension. Mr. Bopp takes notice of the phenomenon (p. 14), but, not comprehending the nature and value of the *svarita*, is able to present but a lame and unsatisfactory explanation of it. It is, briefly stated, this: nominal themes, ending in an accented *i* or *u*, long or short (there are exceptions to the rule), which letters before a case-ending beginning with a vowel are converted into *y* or *v*, receive upon the ending, in the so-called strong cases (Nom. Acc. Voc.) *svarita*, in the weak *udâtta*. So from *nadî'*, *vadhû'*, are formed in the nom. dual and plural *nady`âu*, *vadhvàs*, in the dat. and gen. singular *nadyâ'i*, *vadhvâ's*. This, Mr. Bopp says, can only be because the strong cases have a right to a greater fullness of form than the weak, and retain accordingly for the final vowel in such cases a more properly vowel pronunciation: that is to say, that *nadyâu* is really rather *nadi-âu*, while *nadyâi* is and remains *nadyâi*. But, in the first place, there is an absence of all evidence that the semivowels were really pronounced less like vowels in the weak than in the strong cases; the Vedas show them to be quite as frequently resolvable into the vowels in the former as in the latter: and farther, it can in no way be made to appear that a vowel is rendered less capable of bearing the acute if preceded by another vowel; that, for instance, supposing the case-ending of *nadyâu* to be entitled to the *udâtta*, the re-conversion of the *y* into *i* would have any tendency to take that accent from it. The true explanation of the difference of accentuation, as between the two classes of cases, is to be found in the difference of the point upon which the stress of voice really falls; being in the strong cases the final vowel of the theme, in the weak the vowel of the ending. This change of accent from the theme to the ending has extensive analogies in the language: so especially in the classes of monosyllabic and participial themes. Let us compare, for instance, the declension of *nâ'u* and *mahánt:* they form, in the cases instanced above, *nâ'vâu*, *mahâ'ntas*, like *nadî'-âu* (equivalent to *nady`âu*) *vadhû'-as* (to *vadhvàs*); and on the other hand *nâvé*, *mahatâs*, like *nadî-â'i* (or *nadyâ'i*), *vadhû-â's* (*vadhvâ's*).

From this general statement of the circumstances attending the occurrence of the *svarita* in Sanskrit, it can hardly fail to be clearly apparent that that accent has been correctly described by the Indian grammarians, that it is a compound of *udâtta* and *anudâtta*, exhib-

iting both the elevated and the general tone of voice within the compass of the same syllable. It is, then, identical in physical character with the Greek circumflex, and we have found a new parallelism, unremarked by our author, between the systems of accentuation of the two languages. There is, indeed, a grand difference between them in regard to the use they make of this accent: the one showing such an inclination for it as to make it the general rule for a vowel or diphthong resulting from contraction, or for a penult of long vowel quantity when not followed by a long final syllable; the other admitting it, with very rare exceptions, only upon syllables properly disyllabic, and composed of two uncombinable vowel sounds. But as the Greek circumflex is so named from its nature, and not from its value or frequency as a phenomenon of the language, there exists no reason whatever why, in a general treatise at least, we should not transfer the names acute and circumflex to the Sanskrit also, and avoid encumbering our terminology with new titles not universally intelligible.

This comparison of the circumflex and the *svarita* has already oftener than once been made with more or less fullness, and it is a matter of surprise that Mr. Bopp should have so entirely overlooked it. Perhaps it is owing to the method in which the latest Sanskrit grammarians (Boller and Benfey) have treated the general subject of the *svarita*. Neither of them has followed the guidance of his Indian predecessors in explaining the physical character of the accent: Boller calls it simply a "clear-sound" (*Hell-laut*), adopting a title first proposed by Ewald (Zeitsch. f. d. K. d. Morgenlandes, v. 438 ff.), and founded upon an etymology of the Indian name which is now acknowledged to be a mistaken one: Benfey describes it as a tone midway between *udâtta* and *anudâtta*, instead of a combination of the two; both theories necessarily exclude any comparison with the Greek circumflex. But while in this particular deserting the native authority, and in some measure because they have done so, they have, in our opinion, suffered it to mislead them in other respects into giving an account of the phenomena of the *svarita* which is insufficient and unphilosophical. In endeavoring to make this apparent, we must first call attention to the complete later Indian theory respecting the accent. It is held, namely, that the sphere of influence of the accent is not limited to the syllable upon which the stress of voice properly falls, but that it produces also a certain effect upon the preceding and following syllables; upon the former the voice is said to fall a degree lower than the general level of pitch, in preparation for its exaltation to the height of the *udâtta;* while the other, instead of being pronounced in its entirety upon the *anudâtta* pitch, retains at its commencement a remnant of the *udâtta* tone, so that the fall of the voice takes place in, and not before, it. Thus, in

the word *sumanasyámânas*, only the first two and the last syllables are allowed to be pronounced in the general tone, the *na* falling below it, and the *mâ* being retained during its first half-mora at the same pitch as the *syá:* it might be expressed to the eye in the following manner: *su ma* $_{na}^{sya}$ *nas.* Of these two subsidiary accents, the first, or proclitic, is generally styled the *anudâttatara;* the other, or enclitic, is known as the *svarita.* Now we certainly ought to allow ourselves to be instructed by the native authorities on matters of such nicety as this connected with pronunciation: at the same time, we know very well the tendency of the Indian grammarians to over-refinement of analysis, and to pretty arbitrary theorization where there is any occasion or excuse for it, and are justified in examining with some jealousy their teachings even upon points like these. And it appears that the proclitic accent, at any rate, is a comparatively late afterthought. So much is indicated even by the name itself, which is a comparative of *anudâtta*, and is, strictly taken, an absurdity, *anudâtta* being treated as if it had a positive meaning, "depressed," instead of the merely negative one "unelevated:" such a derivative could not have been formed from it until its own meaning had become conventionally fixed by long usage. The Prâtiçâkhyas, so far as known to us (we have not access to them all), neither contain the name of this accent, nor any indication that its existence had been recognized. With the enclitic *svarita* the case appears to be different: neither the early grammarians (of the Prâtiçâkhyas), nor the later, regard it as in any manner distinct from the proper or independent circumflex which we have spoken of above; the two are confounded together as quite identical, and have in common exercised the ingenuity of the native theorists, which has amused itself with dividing them into numerous sub-forms, having each its peculiar designation. Their example is followed by the two German grammarians, who describe the enclitic *svarita* as the main fact, make it their starting point, and proceed to explain the other from it. In the union, say they, of an *udâtta* with its following syllable, the latter having already through the influence of the former an enclitic *svarita*, the first accent is entirely lost, and the other takes its place, so that the result is a *svarita* syllable. But we must confess that this loss of a principal in a subsidiary accent, this sacrificing of the acute to its own shadow, this elevation to entire independence of a tone possessed of so little inherent force that, if a second acute follows it, it disappears altogether, and is replaced by the *anudâtta* (as is the case), does not strike us as very plausible. Are we to believe that, when a fully accented *é* or *ó* absorbs or elides a short *a*, the tone of the former is utterly destroyed, and only that weak echo of itself which it would have lent to the other vowel is left? that, while

a long *î'* assimilates a short *i*, rendering the whole result acute; a short *i* is allowed no representation at all in the accent of the compound of which it forms a part? that, where the method of the Çatapatha Brâhmaṇa is followed, and an *â'*, for instance, is combined with an *i*, the tone of the stronger element is given up in favor of that of the weaker? In the more frequent case of the conversion of the accented vowel into a semivowel, we might indeed sooner grant, that if the semivowel itself be left out of account, and not allowed any such vowel pronunciation as should qualify it to take part in bearing the tone which originally belonged to it, the independent and enclitic *svarita* would fall together, and have the same value: that in the word *súar*, for instance, if the *ú* were absolutely consonantized, only that kind of tone would remain to the *a*, which the *a* also of *vî'ra*, borrowing for itself a slight share in the higher tone of the preceding syllable, might exhibit. The Indian theory would then be consistent with itself, and would sacrifice together the vowel quality and the accent of the converted vowel. Yet we, on the contrary, should be fully justified in maintaining, from the evidence furnished by the Vedas, that it still retained a share in both; that the two vowels were pronounced together as an improper diphthong, and that each contributed its part to the accentuation of the syllable. It would evidently have a direct and important bearing upon the question before us, if we could find any evidence that the independent circumflex had been first noted and named, and its designation afterward transferred to the enclitic which a later theory had set up, or a more acute analysis discovered. Nor do we despair of the possibility of doing so. The etymology of the word *svarita* does not seem to be as yet fully ascertained. It is now generally derived from *svara* "accent," and explained to mean "accented, having the stress of voice." To this there are two weighty objections: first, that no reason can be given why this accent should be chosen out to receive such a name, as if it were the sole, the most frequent, the principal accent, which it is far enough from being: second, that in the earliest grammatical language the word *svara* means very much more frequently "vowel" than "accent," and it seems that the former must be the original signification, from which the other is in some way derived. We might then conjecture that *svarita* came from *svara* in this sense of "vowel," and meant "vocalized, exhibiting the conversion into a vowel," as applied to the syllables in which the re-vocalization of the semivowel was necessary, in order to give its full enunciation to the accent; such syllables constituting probably nineteen-twentieths of those which do receive the independent circumflex. We would not put forward this etymology with too much confidence, but rather reserve the point for farther examination and decision, when the early grammatical phraseology shall be more fully and completely

understood. However the Indian grammarians may in their theories assume the complete identity of the two kinds of svarita, there are cases where they are compelled practically to acknowledge their fundamentally different character. To illustrate this: if an acute is followed by a circumflex, no difference, as regards the notation of the accents, is made in the texts, whether the latter be the independent or the enclitic: the two phrases *devâ'ç cà* (*cà* being of itself destitute of accent, but receiving in such a position the enclitic *svarita*), and *devâ'ḥ svàr*, are marked with precisely the same accent signs: but let another accented word be appended, and the difference immediately appears; while the *cà* loses its circumflex and becomes *anudâtta* (or *anudâttatara*), as in *devâ'ç ca té*, the *svàr* still maintains its proper accent, and we read, for example, *devâ'ḥ svàr â'bharan* (Ath.V. iv. 23, 6).

We must regard ourselves, therefore, as authorized still to believe, that the proper Sanskrit circumflex is a phenomenon of independent origin, resulting from the coalescence of an accented with an unaccented syllable, and that it should, in a philosophical treatment of the general subject, be held distinctly apart from those subordinate and comparatively insignificant modifications of tone, which are claimed to be the involuntary accompaniments of the accented syllable.

Mr. Bopp claims that he has discovered the general law or principle which governs the accentuation of both Sanskrit and Greek, although prevented from exhibiting itself so distinctly in the latter language as in the former by the contrary influence of the phonetic laws. It is this: "the farthest retraction of the accent (toward the beginning of the word) is regarded as the accentuation of greatest dignity and force:" that is to say, the Sanskrit and Greek accent is a method of indicating the comparative rank of different words or classes of words, and its place is determined by reference hereto; the stress of voice being laid in those words which are deemed of most importance and dignity upon the first syllable, or one of the first. Our author lays down this law, preparatory to making it the basis of his comparative investigations, at the outset of his work (p. 16), and proceeds at some length to establish and illustrate it from the actual phenomena of the two languages in question.

It is in truth a matter of so much consequence to determine, especially as regards the Sanskrit, whether any such general law has exercised a modifying and altering influence upon an earlier accentuation, that we shall be justified in inquiring somewhat particularly whether the alleged principle is to be accepted as satisfactorily established. The importance of the question grows directly out of the part which the Sanskrit has played, and which we expect it still

farther to play, in illustrating the most ancient history of our family of languages. It has aided so remarkably in accomplishing this, chiefly in virtue of the freedom which it has always maintained from general modifying influences of a later and secondary origin, of the purity in which it has preserved its forms as originally constructed, allowing us to look directly through them upon the formative processes. Now we might hope to receive no insignificant aid in our last analyses of forms from the accentuation, if that too had been transmitted to us in unimpaired purity. What we may hold to have been the character of the primitive accentuation of a language will depend, of course, upon what is our theory as to the earliest growth of the latter. If we belong to the school of philology of which Mr. Bopp himself is to be regarded as the founder and head, we believe that there was a time in the history of language when it consisted only of roots, all independently significant, and that polysyllabic words and forms first grew up by the subordination of some of these significant syllables to others, their concretion, as it were, about a nucleus: that the whole apparatus of suffixes and prefixes, which are attached to a root, and express merely modifications of the central idea conveyed by that root, or its relations to others, had once a separate existence and value of their own, and that the method in which the combination into a new compound individuality was effected, was in great part the yielding up of their own independent accent on the part of some of these syllables: there was first a reduction of accented words to proclitics or enclitics, and then a closer fusion of the aggregation into a unit. Of course, in the growing together of such a compound unit, that syllable would retain its accent, and become the nucleus of the new formation, which was felt to be most prominent among them: the less significant atoms would subordinate themselves to the more important. General laws and tendencies, whether of a phonetic character, or such as Mr. Bopp thinks he has found in the Sanskrit, could not arise and exercise their influence until later, when the language consisted of words already formed and developed. If, then, we are able to separate a word into its root and the accretions thereto, and can be assured that its accent has not been altered since it first grew into a word, we have no unimportant hint given us respecting the nature and comparative value of its elements, as estimated at the moment of its origination: a hint that may yet be of the utmost value to us in accomplishing the very difficult task of thoroughly comprehending and explaining the reduction to their present form and meaning of the various formative syllables. It would doubtless be going altogether too far to claim that the Sanskrit does actually offer to us the original accentuation in primitive purity, yet the analogy of its other qualities, and the general appearance of its phenomena, warrant us

at least in believing that it may have preserved more of that accentuation than any other language of the family has done. Perhaps the time has not yet come when its system can be so thoroughly examined as to settle the question in all points satisfactorily, but it is clear that the subject is deserving of the most minute and searching investigation, and that in the meantime we have to look with distrust at alleged general laws, and see whether they are not put forth on insufficient grounds.

Mr. Benfey, in his Sanskrit Grammar (§ 4), makes the characteristically bold and sweeping assertion, that the principle of the Sanskrit system of accentuation is to lay the stress of voice upon the modifying syllable, whether prefix or suffix, to the exclusion of the root or theme itself. He adds, however, that this original principle has been, in the progress of the development of language, supplanted in some instances by other word-shaping influences. To this Mr. Bopp remarks (note 35, p. 238) that he would have been nearer the truth had he said "in most instances," inasmuch as in the great majority of the phenomena as they lie before us the principle is violated. Mr. Benfey has not deigned, or has not ventured, to defend and establish his theory, but is content barely to state it, with an illustration or two, leaving it to the good pleasure of his readers to accept or reject it: probably most of them will agree with Mr. Bopp in disposing of it in the latter way, since it seems to find support neither in the facts, as a general law of secondary origin, nor in sound theory, as a primitive and original principle. For in the very earliest concretion of syllables into words, the accentuation could hardly be otherwise than a logical one, distinguishing the "radical" syllable; it would only be after a certain stock of words was already constructed, that the comparison with them, or the conscious and intentional farther modification of them, would lead to a laying of the stress of voice upon the naturally less important formative syllable, and thus introduce the other principle; after which the two would subsist together, and the application of the one or the other be made to depend upon the nature or degree of the modifying influence of the affix.

We have now, then, to examine Mr. Bopp's general law of Sanskrit accentuation, and see whether it is entitled, in view of its own intrinsic character, and of the evidence which he is able to adduce in its support, to be accepted by us as satisfactorily established. And it is not too much to say, in the first place, that the former, its character, furnishes no presumption in its favor, but rather the contrary. Nothing analogous to it has been noted elsewhere: other languages are found which have remodelled their accentuation upon phonetic grounds, or which have singled out the most significant syllable of each word to receive the distinguishing stress of voice,

but not one has been pointed out as attempting to mark the absolute dignity and force of a word, as compared with other words, by distinguishing any one of its syllables above its fellows. Nor is there anything plausible in the idea of attaining such an end by such means: it seems next to impossible to understand, to make the mind appreciate, how the drawing back of an accent toward the beginning of a word should be able to give that word an added importance in the general sum of discourse. It might, for one reason, be even easier to believe this of a throwing forward of the accent: it is a familiar observation, namely, of which those especially who speak the English language will not fail to appreciate the justice, that in a polysyllabic word the syllables which precede the accent are uttered with more force and distinctness than those which follow it: a full and sonorous pronunciation, then, at any rate, would be assured to a word rather by accenting its final than its initial syllable. Considering this absence of analogies or antecedent probabilities in its favor, we have a right surely to demand that our author's law be supported by evidence both full and unequivocal derived from the facts of the language. Let us examine somewhat in detail that which he adduces, and see whether it bears this character.

In the first place, he claims that a very striking proof of the dignity and efficiency belonging to the accentuation of an initial syllable is furnished by the fact that monosyllabic nouns, in both Sanskrit and Greek, lay the stress of voice in the nominative and accusative of all numbers upon the theme, while in the other cases it rests upon the ending: the former cases are thus, he says, indicated as the most exalted and distinguished of the series. This seems to us to mean just nothing at all. What is there in the nominative and accusative that entitles them to claim a superiority in rank over the other cases, what appreciable tangible quality, which could furnish ground for a distinction such as is here claimed to be made? More frequent of occurrence they are, indeed; and they express simpler and more direct relations of the theme to other words; but herein, surely, lies a reason much more plausible for the difference of accent, that the endings which express the more complicated relations have a greater significance, and relative importance to the theme, than the others, and therefore receive the stress of voice. When the theory of the nature of the case-endings, and of the manner in which they became attached to the theme, is more thoroughly understood, we may expect to comprehend better the cause also of the varying accentuation; but we are not called upon to accept in the meantime any such explanation of it as Mr. Bopp gives.

The next argument offered is that verbs active and medial do in general accent their first syllable, and that thus the energy of the action residing in the word is emblematized by its energetic accentu-

ation. But so far is the Sanskrit from tending to lay any particularly energetic stress of voice upon its verbs, that in most instances, and unless some special circumstances interfere to prevent, it deprives them of all accent whatever. It would be strange if a class of words should be left ordinarily unaccented, which had been chosen out to bear an especially energetic accentuation. But the strength of the argument was perhaps intended to lie rather in the comparison made between the active and middle verbs on the one hand, and the passives on the other, which latter lay the stress of voice upon their characteristic syllable *ya*, immediately following the root; "because," says our author, "they lack the energy of self-action." In reply to this it may be remarked, in the first place, that we seem to have here only another instance of a classification made on insufficient grounds: that it is not easy to perceive a notable distinction in respect to the quality of the action, as such, between the two classes set up; their differences residing rather in the different relations of the subject and the object to the action; that it would be quite as plausible to make other of these relations than the one which has been chosen for the purpose, the ground of the division: to draw the line, for instance, between the active verbs on the one side, and the middles and passives on the other (particularly as the whole history of language illustrates the near kindred of these two forms of the verb), or between the transitives and intransitives. But farther, if the verbal accent is intended to indicate the dignity and efficiency of the verbal forms, how does it happen that so many verbs active and middle, and those just the oldest and most original which the language possesses, do still accent, in the majority of their forms, the ending? why, while the imperfect lays the stress of voice upon its first syllable, does the perfect lay it upon its last, or its penult? why, if the passive accents its formative syllable from weakness, does the causal, certainly the most energetic of the forms of the verb, do the same? Evidently, a rule which is founded upon a doubtful classification, applies to only a portion of the phenomena which come within its sphere, and has the directest analogies against it, is to be rejected without long hesitation: the real principle or principles lying at the base of the varied system of verbal accentuation have not been reached.

The accent of the vocative is another point adduced by our author in support of his law. This case in Sanskrit has the stress of voice, when it has it at all, upon its first syllable; "plainly," we are told, "in order to distinguish in a very impressive manner the name of the person called upon." To this it is a sufficient answer to say, that, excepting in certain exceptional situations, the Sanskrit vocative receives no accent at all, and that it would be a remarkable inconsistency on the part of the language to deprive a class of words of

their accent in the majority of instances where they are found, and in the rest to lay upon them a stress intended to be a particularly powerful one.

Mr. Bopp next brings forward the accentuation of the first syllable in all comparatives and superlatives formed by the suffixes *îyas* and *ishṭha;* "which," he says, "is not easily to be explained except upon the supposition that the language felt with reference to these formations the necessity of representing the intensifying of the idea by the highest intensification of the accent likewise: therefore, e. g., from the oxytone positive *svâdú* come the comparative and superlative *svâ'dîyas, svâ'dishṭha,*" etc. This argument would at least seem to be more to the point, if it were actually the case that *svâ'dîyas, svâ'dishṭha* were formed from *svâdú*, and that they in truth exhibited a change, a retraction, of accent. But this is not so. It has, indeed, been usual, following native Indian authority, to account these comparatives and superlatives as secondary derivatives, and to form them from nominal themes, but it is truly remarkable that a theory so discordant with the facts should have been permitted so long to pass unchallenged. We are accustomed to hold that the individuality of a nominal theme, as distinguished from its root, is constituted by its formative suffix, taken in connection with the particular form of the root presented therewith. What shall we think, then, when called upon to derive *kshépîyas*, for example, from *kshiprá;* to accomplish which we have first to strip off from the latter the suffix *ra* whose addition to the root *kship* first constituted it a theme, and then farther to take a different form of the root itself? Is that a philosophical etymological process? This is not an unfair example of the class; compare farther *várîyas* from *urú*, *rájishṭha* from *ṛjú*, *gámishṭha* from *gantár;* a host of others as striking might be adduced: notice also the numerous cases of such comparatives and superlatives to which even Indian theory can assign no corresponding positive; as *kánîyas*, *kánishṭha*, *jyâ'yas*, *jyéshṭha:* remark, finally, the permission given in the Vedic language to form at will such derivatives from any root, whether simple or combined with a preposition. These indications are unambiguous, and point, all of them, to the same conclusion, which cannot be avoided; that all these formations in *îyas* and *ishṭha* are primary derivatives from the root itself, and stand upon an equality with, instead of being subordinate to, the themes which occasionally bear to them the relation of positives. In the instance cited above, then, of *svâ'dîyas* and *svâ'dishṭha* as compared with *svâdú*, we have by no means a case of retraction of an already located accent, but only an example of the usual variety of accentuation shown in the formation of derivatives, the root retaining itself the stress of voice before certain suffixes, and yielding it up to others. Our author might,

indeed, be inclined to claim that the ground of his argument was only shifted, inasmuch as there was room still to allege the existence of a tendency toward a more energetic accentuation of the intensêr forms among the primary derivatives themselves, and to cite this case in evidence of it. The plea when reduced to this form is hardly of force enough to demand an answer, considering how numerous are the cases in which the root maintains its accent before the suffix, while yet no such reason can be assigned for it. Very plain indications are not wanting, however, that the Sanskrit did not feel the alleged need of representing the intensifying of the idea in comparative and superlative formations by a modification, or at all events not by a retraction, of the accent. There are other, and much more usual, suffixes employed to form adjectives of comparison, namely *tara* and *tama*, which are actually appended to nominal themes; and these, as a general rule, leave the accent of the theme just where they find it: thus we have from *mahát*, *maháttara*, *maháttama*; from *púṇya*, *púṇyatara*, *púṇyatama*; from *bhágavat*, *bhágavattara*; from *ratnadhá'*, *ratnadhá'tama*. The exceptions to this rule occur chiefly in formations from pronominal and prepositional roots and themes (the suffixes appearing in part in the briefer forms *ra* and *ma*), and the variations of accent which they exhibit are directly opposed to those which our author's principle would require: so from *yá* come *yatará* and *yatamá*; from *ká*, *katará* and *katamá*; from *adhás*, the comparative *ádhara*, and the superlative *adhamá*; from *út*, *ápa*, *úpa*, in like manner, *úttara* and *uttamá*, *ápara* and *apamá*, *úpara* and *upamá*; and from *pára*, *paramá*.

One more argument is brought forward by Mr. Bopp in support of his theory of Sanskrit accentuation. The abstracts, he tells us, show an inclination to accent their first syllable, and the abstract is in so far the highest potency of a word, as it presents the radical idea without any limitation or foreign admixture; to it therefore belongs of right the most impressive mode of accentuation. But is there really any ground for establishing such a distinction in favor of the abstract above the other derivatives from a root? It seems, at any rate, not entirely consistent with the superior dignity which had already before been claimed for the forms of the finite verb; they, surely, do not present the radical idea without limitation or foreign admixture; they allow its limitation by both subject and object, and the intrusion into it of the foreign elements of modality and time. And can one seriously compare the *nomen abstractum* with the *nomen agentis*, for instance, or the *nomen possessivum*, and appreciate the existence of any quality in the former which should give it a claim to be clearly designated as superior to the latter? Surely we have here but another instance of an arbitrary determination of rank, upon grounds purely imaginary, between classes of

words, which needs only to be fairly stated and calmly considered to be rejected without a formal refutation. But the argument is hardly better founded in facts than in theory: of the two most frequent secondary suffixes forming abstract nouns, *tva* and *tâ*, the former receives itself the accent, the latter draws it forward to the syllable next preceding itself: and if it is true that *ti* forms numerous paroxytone feminine abstracts, it is true also that they are quite as frequently oxytone.

It can hardly remain a matter of doubt, after this examination of the arguments by which Mr. Bopp supports his theory of the principle of Sanskrit accentuation, that it is unhesitatingly to be rejected, as founded only upon doubtful, or arbitrary, or mistaken interpretations of certain phenomena, which, even did they speak unequivocally in its favor, would not be sufficient to give it more than a degree of plausibility as one of the general secondary tendencies of the language. And it is especially unfortunate that our author should have allowed a theory so insufficiently established to govern and direct him to such an extent as is actually the case, in his arrangement and comparison of the facts which he has so industriously collected. He holds to it with much consistency, or persistency, throughout the whole course of his work; we have not remarked that he allows anywhere the possible existence of a principle of accentuation more primitive than this, or inquires whether any of the facts inconsistent with it which he is compelled to take notice of may not be original, and find an explanation in the history of the earliest growth of the language. We cannot attempt here to follow him through all the points where we conceive him to have been misled by this means into an erroneous explanation, estimation, or comparison, of the phenomena presented by the two languages which he primarily treats. We shall have accomplished all that we desired, if we have shown the untenability of the theory which would account for the Sanskrit accentuation by a general law of secondary origin, and have preserved to the linguistic investigator the precious possibility that under its apparent anomalies are hidden valuable hints as to the first growth of language. We have not been solicitous, when opposing the interpretation forced by Mr. Bopp upon his facts, to substitute for it another of our own, as recognizing the extreme difficulty of the subject, and the necessity of tracing every point sought to be established carefully through the whole body of phenomena of the language; which has hardly been practicable hitherto. The possibility of doing so, however, is greatly facilitated by the work before us, which, as a careful collection and presentation of all the phenomena of accent still admitting comparison in the various Indo-European languages, is, for completeness and convenience, far in advance of anything which had before been produced.

There is one highly interesting department of the subject of Sanskrit accentuation which our author's plan has not allowed him to discuss directly, or in full, because its phenomena are confined to the Indian language alone, so far as has been remarked, and find nothing analogous in the other dialects of our family. This is the loss on the part of certain words in the sentence of their proper accent, unless under the operation of especial causes, which preserve it to them. Other languages, to be sure, as for instance the Greek, have their classes of properly accentless words, which attach themselves more or less closely, as proclitics or enclitics, to some other more prominent word in the sentence, and others which do or do not receive an accent, according to the degree of significance which in different cases may belong to them: such the Sanskrit has also: but it is not to them that reference is now made; there are, besides these, two important and extensive categories which the Sanskrit alone deprives of accent. These are the vocatives, and the forms of the finite verb. Mr. Bopp briefly considers the subject in a note (note 37, p. 240), and disposes of it very summarily by denying the facts, and accusing the Indians of having in this respect misapprehended or misrepresented their language. He finds it so incredible that forms of the length and fullness of *viçvâmitra* and *abubodhishâmahi* should have no distinguishing stress of voice, that he prefers to believe that both vocatives and verbs did in truth always retain their own proper accent, but that in the situations where this is allowed them by the Indian grammarians, they were so much more strongly and impressively accented, that the stress ordinarily laid upon them was not noticed or noted at all. We cannot find this counter theory satisfactory, or even plausible. Such a denial of the actuality of a phenomenon of which the explanation seems difficult, is a confession of weakness which science should not feel willing to make until after a much more thorough investigation than this subject has yet received, at the hands of our author or of any other person. And the chief or only difficulty which our author puts forward seems, after all, to be by no means the greatest of those which are to be contended against: who would have thought of rejecting as impossible and false the accentuation of a dvandva like *unmocanapramocané*, or of a compound verb accented upon the preposition, like *práty abubodhishâmahi?* the number of successive syllables which are left unaccented in a sentence is certainly not the main thing: if a certain category of words is to be stripped of its accent, it is of but inferior consequence whether the individual words which come under it are longer or shorter in respect of form: the true point which calls for explanation is their reduction at all to a subordinate and enclitic condition. But so far as concerns the vocatives, this too does not appear to be a matter of so extreme difficulty. If there is any class

of words of which the character and relations to the sentence are so peculiar as to authorize us to expect in different languages differences in their treatment, it is that of the vocatives. We are taught that in Sanskrit the vocative has its own peculiar accent (namely, upon the first syllable) when it stands at the beginning of a sentence, but is elsewhere left unaccented. And we can notice even in our own usage, that a vocative, if preceded by anything addressed to the person or thing which it indicates, is reduced to a position of decided inferiority with respect to tone, which, if it do not amount to entire encliticism, we may readily conceive to be by another language pushed to that extent. This is illustrated not only by the example which Mr. Bopp cites: "Come! Frederick," as if the verb alone possessed the power of subordinating the vocative, but equally well by "Thou then! Frederick," or "Never! Frederick, will I desert thee." The attention of the person addressed is assumed to be already gained, and the vocative is a mere parenthesis in the sentence, uttered, like any other parenthesis, in an undertone and monotone: if, on the other hand, his attention is sought, the name is first called, and has a full tone given it.

With the other class the case is altogether different. That a form of the finite verb, which we are wont to regard as the very life of the sentence, as by itself capable of constituting a sentence complete in all its parts, which so often combines into itself ideas and relations that in another language, or in other parts of the same language, appear as independent words or accessory clauses—that this, of all other words, should lose its independent tone, and be reduced to the subordinate position of an enclitic in the sentence, is certainly strange enough; and one might, at first sight, almost feel justified in denying its truth. Nevertheless, we fully believe that the time is not yet come for resorting to so extreme a measure: that we have first to endeavor to comprehend more fully the nature of the phenomenon as laid before us, in all its rules and all its exceptions, and to strive faithfully to find some analogy or reasonable ground for it. It is supported by far too weighty evidence, as an actual phenomenon, not to require to be considered as such until all the arts of explanation shall have been essayed upon it in vain. The possibility of its complete comprehension has not yet been given. To expect to obtain such from the rules of investigators and theorists so shallow and unphilosophical as the Indian grammarians, would be the height of unreason, and of accented texts, by the minute examination of which our view might be filled up and corrected, too few have as yet been published, nor have those few been studied with a special eye to this matter. So much as this, at any rate, we can seem to see clearly; that it is a true linguistic phenomenon which we have here placed before our eyes; its outlines are not such as would have been laid

down by arbitrary theorizing; and it has even been but partially understood, and imperfectly described, by those who have been the mediums of the transmission to us of its facts.

Such being the present condition of the investigation, it cannot but be of interest and importance to establish new rules or principles, or to reduce to a more exact and philosophical form of statement such as have been already laid down, and this we shall accordingly endeavor in a few points to do, without entering into anything like a thorough discussion of the whole subject.

There are two general classes of exceptions to the rule which deprives the verb of its accent; the one dependent upon the character of the sentence in which the verb may be found, the other upon its position in the sentence. For the former the following summary statement may be given: the verb loses its accent in a primary or independent, but retains it in an accessory or dependent clause. The Indian grammarians, and their European followers, have described the phenomenon in a different manner, keeping out of sight its true efficient cause. They say merely that the verb retains its accent in a clause which contains any forms, whether of inflection or derivation, coming from the relative pronominal root *ya*. But these forms constitute, with few exceptions, the whole apparatus of words which condition the dependency of a clause; and we farther find that those exceptions themselves are allowed by theory, and possess in practice, the same influence upon the verbal accent: they are *cet* "if," which is equal to *yadi: net* "lest," Latin *ne*, equal to *yan na: kimcit* and kindred forms, used interrogatively, containing an idea of "whether," German *ob etwa:* and even when the clause, without containing any particular word which necessitates or indicates it, is to be understood as dependent, its verb maintains its accent. This last is described as "a clause containing *ca* with the signification 'if,'" but although that particle is generally present, it has its own proper meaning "and," and is by no means equivalent to *yadi* or *cet*.* Now by this new statement of the phenomenon we seem to have advanced at least a step toward the comprehension of it. We need go no farther than to the German to find another language which exhibits a marked difference in the manner of treating its verbs, according as they stand in independent or in accessory clauses; the verb in the latter being removed from its natural place, and forced to take up a position at the very end of the clause: and although the analogy between the two cases of a change of place and a change of accentuation is not palpable, the fact that they are due to a common cause is suffi-

* So Atharva xi. 8. 56, for example: *ná ca prâṇám runáddhi, sarvajyánim jîyate* "and even is his breath not stopped, he suffers nevertheless a general harming;" or xv. 13. 7, *kárshed enam, ná cái 'nam kárshet* "does he invite him, does he also not invite him:" i. e. "whether he does or does not invite him."

ciently significant to call for an examination, and may perhaps lead to the discovery of a common principle which shall account for both.

The second general class of exceptions depends, as already said, upon the position of the verb in the sentence. And under this head, we are first taught that, if it stand at the commencement of the sentence, the verb retains its accent. The word sentence, as here used, signifies not the logical sentence only, but also the metrical; the verse, namely, or the primary element of the full verse, the *pâda* (of which, for instance, four compose the ordinary çloka). This is a rule which does not seem to call for any special explanation or defense: it is in accordance with what is shown elsewhere, not only by the Sanskrit itself, but by other languages also: so the Greek always accents at the beginning of a sentence the words and forms which in other situations are deprived of their independent stress of voice, and appear as enclitics. But this rule also is, in the form as given, only very imperfectly stated: it requires to be so extended as to read: that the verb is always accented if it stand at the head of its own particular clause in the sentence. We have here, evidently enough, only such a development of the rule previously presented as is most natural and plausible, and was even to have been in advance expected. Nevertheless, as it has not hitherto, so far as we are aware, been recognized and noted, it is incumbent upon us to support and illustrate it by citing examples. In Rik, then, I. 79. 11, we read *yó no agne 'bhidâ'saty ánti dûré padîshṭâ sáḥ* "whoso, O Agni, near or far, would do us harm, let him fall!" In X. 101. 8, again, *mâ' vaḥ susroc camasó dṛ'nhatâ tám* "let not your bowl of offering spill, hold it firm." In I. 31. 17, *â' sâdaya barhíshi yákshi ca priyám* "cause them to take seat upon the barhis, and make acceptable offering." In I. 94. 4, *bhárâme 'dhmám kṛṇávâma havî'nshi te* "we will bring fuel, we will make libations, to thee." In Atharva II. 35. 4, *víçvakarman námas te pâhy àsmâ'n* "O Viçvakarman, homage to thee, protect us." In VI. 3. 2, *pâ'tu grâ'vâ pâ'tu sómo no ánhasaḥ* "protect us the grinding-stone, protect us Soma, against distress." Here the several verbs *padîshṭá, dṛ'nhata, yákshi, kṛṇávâma, pâhi, pâ'tu* (in the second case), retain their accent in virtue of this rule, and no one can fail to see and acknowledge the propriety of their doing so, if the general principle of the accentuation of a verb when it occupies an initial position be allowed. In a note are given, for farther consultation, the passages illustrating the rule which have been collected in an examination, not very thorough, of the first and tenth books of the Rik, as well as those which we have as yet found in the text of the Atharva.* The only instance anywhere noted of a

* Rik I. 31. 3; 32. 12; 34. 11; 48. 3; 54. 11; 58. 7; 61. 2; 62. 3; 79. 2; 80. 3; 93. 7; 94. 3, 12; 100. 18; 103. 2 (twice); 118. 2; 121. 3; 157. 4; 163. 3; 165. 12; 173. 3; 174. 1; 182. 1, 4. X. 28. 3 (twice); 31. 3; 34. 14; 40. 5,

violation of the principle is Rik I. 134. 3, *prá cakshaya ródasî vâsayo 'shásah;* where, if *ródasî* is to be connected with the preceding verb, as the sense seems to demand, and as the commentator also understands it, the following verb ought to be accented, *vâsáya:* that it is not so accented is simply an error in the tradition, which we are fully authorized to correct.

Another prominent rule under the same general head is wont to be given in the following form: a verb retains its accent when immediately preceded by another verb. Thus in *pré 'ta mṛṇáta sáhadhvam*, "go on, slay, overcome," or in *téshâm pâhi çrudhî' hávam*, "of them drink, hear our cry," *mṛṇáta*, *sáhadhvam*, *çrudhí* are said to be accented because of their standing in contact with the words which severally precede them. But it will now be apparent to every one, almost before we have time to point it out, that this is merely a particular case under the general rule just established: a verb under such circumstances must necessarily occupy the initial position in its own clause; and it is on that account, and not from any mysterious influence which the contiguity of another kindred form has upon it, that it retains its proper accent. Taking one of the examples formerly given, and altering a little the arrangement of it swords, so as to read *idhmám bharâma kṛṇávâma havî'nshi te*, although the accent of *kṛṇávâma* would seem to be brought thereby under the action of this rule, we should not in fact change the ground upon which the accent was already before preserved to it. And in like manner, if we read in the instance last cited *pâhí téshâm çrudhî' hávam*, we have taken away from *çrudhí* neither the reason for its accentuation, nor the accent itself; that is only to be effected by changing its place with regard to its own object, as *téshâm pâhi hávam çrudhi*, in which case it would have been brought into a position corresponding to that of *pâhi*, and would, like the latter, lose its accent.

Once more, we are told that a verb between which and the beginning of the sentence only vocatives intervene, is also suffered to retain its accent. This, too, is evidently a case of a like character with those already noticed. A vocative forms no part, properly speaking, of the sentence or clause to which it is attached; it does not in any manner enter into its logical structure; it is a mere appendage thereto, an interjection, a parenthesis. If, then, the verb be preceded only by such a form, it still remains, in effect, at the head of the sentence, and is accordingly accented. If we have the

9; 52. 6: 64. 2; 67. 12; 70. 10; 74. 6; 76. 4; 89. 7; 91. 6, 13; 104. 1, 10; 106. 11; 108. 4; 111. 5; 116. 7; 133. 2; 138. 2 (twice), 5; 147. 5; 156. 3; 161. 5; 164. 5. Atharva I. 8. 3; 17. 2. II. 5. 4; 10. 7. IV. 5. 6; 11. 12; 21. 1. V. 2. 9. VI. 9. 1; 44. 1; 99. 3; 136. 2. VII. 48. 1. VIII. 1. 12; 2. 3; 4. 1, 13, 18. IX. 1. 8; 6. 61. X. 4. 12; 8. 26. XII. 3. 31. XIII. 4. 48, 55. XIX. 45. 5; 49. 6.

clause *rákshate 'mám* "protect ye this person," in which *rákshata* has the stress of voice, its right to possess the latter is not affected by the prefixing of a vocative, or of more than one; and we have equally *vásavo rákshate 'mám*, and *víçve devá vásavo rákshate 'mám*.

The cases in which the verb is allowed to preserve its accent are not thus exhausted. There are sundry particles (so particularly *hi*) of which the presence in the same sentence gives it the power to do so, and not infrequent instances of a more isolated character, and less reducible to rule, are found to occur. The Indian grammarians, also, give a whole series of rules for such cases, the arbitrary and unphilosophical character of many of which is at the first glance apparent. Enough, indeed, we believe, will have been already said, to show that we cannot in any manner depend upon the presentation of the facts which is to be found in the native grammars; that their rules can only be understood after they have been compared with the facts themselves, as recorded for us in the accented texts. To these, then, it becomes us to make our first and most assiduous application; when once the Vedas are made public in their entirety, and have been thoroughly examined and excerpted for this particular purpose, we may expect to be able to see much farther than at present into the details of the system, to comprehend parts of it which are as yet dark to us, and to recast into an intelligible form the teachings of the native authorities. For that time we must perforce wait, with what patience we may.

W. D. W.

2. *Hernisz's Guide to Conversation in English and Chinese, and Andrews's Discoveries in Chinese.*

A Guide to Conversation in the English and Chinese Languages: for the use of Americans and Chinese in California and elsewhere. By Stanislas Hernisz, M. D., Attaché of the U. S. Legation to China, Member of the Am. Oriental Soc., etc. etc. Published by John P. Jewett & Co. Boston, 1855.

This work was printed in Paris, with the beautiful Chinese type of Marcellan Le Grand, and published by J. P. Jewett & Co., at the moderate price of five dollars per copy. It contains one hundred and seventy-nine oblong octavo pages, this form affording facilities for placing the columns of English and Chinese side by side.

The author informs us in his preface that he has never had the assistance of a native Chinese teacher, but that he has obtained his knowledge of Chinese from the works of Gonçalvez, Medhurst, Bridgman, and Williams, and from the Chinese *Imperial Dictionary*.

From these sources the author has compiled a series of progressive elementary exercises in Chinese, somewhat in the style of the modern progressive lessons employed for learning French and German. With but limited experience in the practical use of the Chinese language, it was not to be expected that the author could compile a work of this kind free from errors. While therefore we admire the enterprise with which he has undertaken so difficult a task, we feel at liberty to examine the work on its own intrinsic merits, and point out whatever errors might otherwise mislead those who use the volume for learning Chinese.

1st. The author states that he has adopted the orthography of Morrison and Medhurst, as simplified in the more recent publications of American sinologues. It ought to be known that Morrison and (after him) Medhurst, have represented Chinese sounds by ordinary English orthography, often employing combinations containing silent vowels; while Dr. Bridgman, Dr. Williams, and other American missionaries, have adopted what is commonly called the continental orthography, which, when applied to the languages of unenlightened nations, is known as the system of Sir William Jones, which with slight variations has been followed in romanizing the languages of India, of the islands of the Pacific, and of the native tribes of North America. In this system every vowel-sound has a separate letter to represent it, or, if one letter represents more than one sound, they are distinguished by diacritical marks, and no elementary sound has more than one alphabetic representative. No silent letters are admitted in the system. This gives definiteness to all the combinations of letters used for writing the sounds of a foreign language. This should be called the system of Sir William Jones adapted to the Chinese language, and not a modification of the system employed by Morrison and Medhurst.

2nd. Few Chinese scholars would agree with the author in the opinion that "a knowledge of the Chinese tones is not required in order to speak the language intelligibly." Chinese tones consist essentially of such qualities of enunciation as are known in English by the designations *monotone, rising, falling* and *circumflex inflections*, *semitone* or *plaintive strain*, *tones of command*, *scorn* and *contempt*, *forcible emphasis*, and also an abrupt or suddenly interrupted tone of voice. Each word must invariably be spoken in its appropriate tone, or it becomes, essentially, another word, and conveys an entirely different idea. The tone is an essential part of the word. It is true that a person living among the Chinese may learn many words and phrases, and pronounce them correctly by imitation, without any theoretical knowledge of the tones; just as every one who speaks the English language would ask a direct question with a rising inflection at the close (just as the Chinese

themselves will often add a supernumerary word or syllable with the rising inflection at the close of a question, when the sentence properly ends with another tone). Yet hundreds of persons who speak English or Chinese well, may have no clear idea of the inflections of the voice as described by elocutionists. If these various modifications of the voice are essential parts of Chinese words, it may be asked: how are the various passions and emotions of the speaker indicated? We reply, by slowness or rapidity of utterance, high or low pitch of voice, soft and plaintive or loud and gruff enunciation, and by appropriate tones on final particles destitute of meaning. Such ideas, passions and emotions as require peculiar modifications of voice to give them their proper expression, are represented by words to which are essentially and constantly attached those peculiar modifications of the voice. With these remarks we are prepared to say that an early and careful study of Chinese tones, is of great importance to every one who would acquire a practical acquaintance with the Chinese spoken language.

3d. In order to enable Chinese to learn English, the author has selected characters which he thinks may be used as an alphabet, to illustrate the sounds and use of the English alphabet, and has given numerous examples of spelling English words with this Sinico-English alphabet. We are sorry to find that many indispensable elements of such an alphabet are wanting in the system of the author, if indeed it may be called a system. The author has given for each of our vowel-letters a Chinese character having a sound like one, only, of the vowel-sounds represented by that letter, while for the other vowel-sounds he has given no representative in his alphabet. For each of our consonant-letters, he has given a Chinese character, the pronunciation of which begins with the consonant sound (or one of the sounds) represented by that letter, and ends generally with a short vowel. He has given no intimation to his Chinese readers, that the consonant-sound only is to be enunciated, while the final vowel in the sound of the Chinese character is to be dropped. His entire Sinico-English alphabet consists simply of very good names for all the letters in the English alphabet, without enabling the Chinese scholars to understand the sounds of the English letters when used for spelling words. The consequence is, that a Chinese, studying this book, would give to each word spelt with the author's Chinese alphabet as many distinct syllables as there are letters used in spelling the word, as in the following examples:

Rest	would	be	pronounced	Urh-e-sih teih.
Bush	"	"	"	Pih-wuh-sih-hae.
Help	"	"	"	Hae-e-lih-pei.
Local	"	"	"	Lih-o-kih-a-lih.
Pilfer	"	"	"	Pei-i-lih-fei-e-urh.

Thus the Chinese reader would pronounce the name of each letter in the word, in succession, instead of pronouncing the word itself. This is a difficulty experienced by every one who attempts to represent the sounds of proper names by Chinese characters. Where combinations of consonants and vowels are used to form syllables unknown to the Chinese, they make as many syllables in the pronunciation as there are characters used to spell the word. In the Treaty, between the United States and China, made by the Embassy to which Dr. Hernisz was *attaché*, the word *President*, when pronounced by the Chinese according to the sounds of the characters used in the treaty, is *Pi-li-si-tien-teh.*

Had the author analyzed the sounds of a few common Chinese words, showing to the Chinese readers of his book, first, specimens of characters of which the pronunciation is a single vowel-sound; then, words with two vowels combined; then, words formed of a consonant followed by a single vowel; then, a consonant with two vowels; then, more complex combinations in Chinese words; then, how the Chinese themselves combine their initial consonants, for which they have representatives in the "foreign dividers of sound" (as they are called), which are found in native works, he might have enabled his Chinese readers to understand the nature and use of alphabetic characters. After this, by an easy synthesis, he could have shown that the English language has the same elementary sounds, combined somewhat differently from what are found in Chinese words; and by proceeding from simple to more complex combinations, he could have led on the Chinese scholars to pronounce English words, showing, of course, how words are composed of one, two, or more syllables. This course would have required a dissertation in the Chinese language itself, as an introduction to a Sinico-English alphabet. In the construction of such an alphabet those characters should be selected of which the common use in Chinese pronouncing dictionaries, as representatives of initial consonants, has already partially established their use as consonant-letters. The characters to represent vowel-sounds in such an alphabet, should also be those representatives of final sounds used in Chinese pronouncing dictionaries, where they will answer the purpose; and where others are required, they should, if possible, be those characters of which the pronunciation, in the court-dialect, consists of a single vowel-sound; or if the character is pronounced with the union of two or three elementary sounds, the description of its alphabetic use should point out whether the first, second, or third elementary sound, of which its common pronunciation consists, is to be employed when it is used as an alphabetic symbol. A character should be selected to represent each vowel-sound, thus giving sometimes several characters as the equivalent of a single letter in the English alphabet. Where

the sound of an English letter has no equivalent in Chinese, it should be represented by a character of somewhat similar sound, and for a diacritical mark have attached the ninth radical, which signifies *man*, and which is commonly used in the formation of vulgar characters having sounds different from the sounds attached by classical usage to the character without this addition.

In the portion of the work which the author calls the Spelling-Book, he pursues no uniform plan in spelling English words with his Sinico-English alphabet. In the following examples we have merely put in place of the Chinese characters the English letters for which the author has given them as representatives. Leaf is spelt l-e-f; lead (metal), l-e-d; copper, k-o-p-e-r; brass, b-r-a-s; pebbles, p-e-b-l-s; steel, s-t-e l; quartz, q-a-r-t-z; mine, m-i-n; lime, l-i-m; marble, m-a-r-b-l; while the final *e* is retained in *ore*, *ape*, *table*, and *nine*. One is spelt o-a-n; two, t-u; three, t-r-e; five, f-i-f; although the author has a Chinese character for *v* which he has used in the words *seven* and *eleven*. But in *seven* all the letters are given, while *eleven* is spelt e-l-e-v-n. Thirteen is spelt t-e-r-t-e-n; while thirty is spelt with all its letters; and thousand is t-o-s-e-n-d. Thus it is evident that the author neither follows the English orthography, nor the natural sounds of the words, nor any other system consistent with itself. No guide is given to show the Chinese reader how the words, spelt with this alphabet, are to be divided into syllables; no marks are given to show which part of a word is accented; nor has the Chinese reader any means of determining whether a concatenation of these new alphabetic characters is to be taken as a single word, or several words. The corresponding Chinese characters, which give the meaning, are not, in this respect, a correct guide.

For practical purposes, this Chinese alphabet and the spelling-book are almost entirely useless. A revision that should adapt them to the purpose of teaching the Chinese the use of the English alphabet, and the practical method of spelling words, would be nearly equivalent to a reconstruction *de novo*.

4th. Our views of the Progressive Exercises for learning Chinese may be best expressed by first quoting the criticisms made by Remusat in 1822 upon the grammars of the Chinese language written by missionaries before his time. He says that the Romish missionaries, in their grammars of the Chinese, had endeavored to give a literal rendering into Chinese of all the shades of meaning expressed by the various inflections of nouns, and moods and tenses of verbs, given in Latin grammars. The absurdity of this proceeding, he says, must be evident to any one who carefully considers the nature of a language which admits of no inflections of nouns, and in which the verbs have no forms equivalent to many of the moods and tenses, &c., found in Latin verbs.

Of Dr. Morrison's Chinese Grammar Remusat also says: "Dr. Morrison has sought to give Chinese equivalents for the auxiliary forms to which he had been accustomed in his mother tongue. He has translated anglicisms, and phrases composed of the auxiliary verbs, *to have, to be, to do, can*, &c., with all their combinations, moods and tenses, . . . he has given as pattern-phrases such forms as will seldom or never be found in [Chinese] books." Somewhat similar criticisms might be applied to this work of Dr. Hernisz. He has taken the verb *to have* as a model for verbs, giving a great variety of English forms with a Chinese translation: as, *I have, I had, I shall have; let me have; I have not, I had not, I shall not have; I had no bread; I have no bread; I shall have no bread; have I? have I not? had I not? shall I not have?* with other variations of number, person, &c., varying also the objects after the verb, &c., &c. The Chinese character used as a translation of *to have* signifies, primarily, *there is*, and the form *I have* signifies, literally, *there is to me*, &c. A Chinese word of such primitive signification, when carried through all the English forms of the verb *to have*, appears in many situations uncouth and inelegant in Chinese.

Some of the phrases are not idiomatic Chinese, while others are such as would be seldom or never heard in conversation, or found in Chinese books.

In the author's list of fractions, he has given the ordinals *third, fourth, fifth*, &c., instead of *one third, one fourth, one fifth*, &c.

The list of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs given in the Progressive Exercises are generally correct, having been collected from the authors quoted in the preface of the work. There are, however, some errors which appear to be typographical, and should be corrected in a table of errata.

We have thus freely noticed what we consider imperfections in this work, yet no one but a student of Chinese can appreciate the difficulties encountered in compiling such a work. The author has evinced great patience and skill in compiling and carrying his work through the press, and has succeeded as well as could have been expected in a language so difficult as the Chinese, with no native teacher at hand to aid him. The general plan of the Progressive Exercises is good; and for the class of persons for whom the book was written, it will answer a good purpose. Indeed, it is almost the only book in the market for the use of such. For thorough students of the Chinese language, other and expensive books are desirable; but for those who merely wish a moderate practical knowledge of Chinese, the work of Dr. Hernisz is at once cheap and available. A good index to the work would add greatly to its value for practical purposes.

The typographical execution of the work is far superior to that of any similar work with which we are acquainted, and we trust it will meet with such an extensive sale as to remunerate the author and the enterprising publishers, and encourage the author, or other Chinese scholars, to prepare other popular works on the Chinese language, and thus facilitate intercourse with our oriental neighbors, both in their own country, and on our western shores.

Discoveries in Chinese. By STEPHEN P. ANDREWS. Published by Charles B. Norton. New York, 1854.

THIS author has advanced no theory, or principle, in regard to the structure of Chinese characters, which has not been well known, and acknowledged, by the great majority of European and American sinologues, for at least thirty years.

It has long been well known that the simplest Chinese characters are of hieroglyphic origin, and that many of the compound characters have been formed by the union of two or more hieroglyphic symbols, the compound character deriving its meaning in part from each of the hieroglyphic symbols of which it is composed. Chinese philologists who wrote two thousand years ago tell us that other characters are formed of two elements, one of which, dropping its own signification, acts as a phonetic, to give sound to the new character, while the other hieroglyphic element drops its sound, or name, and gives merely its signification, in whole, or in part, to the new character. This is what is called the phonetic system. Mr. Callery has endeavored to show that most, if not all, compound characters, have been formed on this phonetic plan, while Mr. Lay has advanced the opinion, that even in those characters generally supposed to have been formed on the phonetic plan, the phonetic or primitive gives a shade of its own meaning to the complex character of which it forms a part.

The only shade of novelty in Mr. Andrews's proposition, is the opinion that all the phonetics, or primitives, as they are frequently called, of which there are about fifteen hundred in common use, many of which are themselves compound characters, derive their own signification, when used as independent characters, from the signification or position of all the elementary symbols of which they are composed; or, in other words, that the phonetic principle has had no influence in the construction of compound characters which are themselves afterwards combined with radicals, or elementary symbols, to form still more complex characters. Chinese scholars generally allow that the principle of combined symbolism applies to many of the compound phonetics, or primitives, and to very many combinations of radicals with primitives. Dr. Williams of Canton

has shown, in his "Easy Lessons in Chinese," that many of the compound primitives agree in their construction with the phonetic theory: and whoever will read his illustrations and his dissertation on the structure of the Chinese language in the "Middle Kingdom," vol. i, chap. 10, will probably be better satisfied with Dr. Williams's exposition than with that of the so called "Discoveries in Chinese."* Mr. Andrews, after giving his views of the mode of analyzing one hundred and forty-one characters, containing, as he thinks, the emblem of a tree, says: "If the solutions which I have offered prove in any good degree satisfactory to the learned, then I have to state that I am certain I should be able to give an equally satisfactory account of most of the remaining emblems of the language, throughout their composition in the elementary characters." We would say that many of his analyses are very unsatisfactory, while some of them are extremely fanciful and absurd; e. g., the characters which he has numbered 110, 111, 112, and others where the same element occurs. What he calls a wood-pile, if examined in ancient Chinese dictionaries, is found to be a real picture of a bird, so plain that a child would recognize it. The eighth character in his list is also easily explained by reference to ancient dictionaries, where the horizontal line is replaced by three mouths, which the lexicographer says are the roots (rootlets by which the tree takes its nourishment). These facts, so obvious on inspection of ancient Chinese dictionaries, would have been far more to the author's purpose than the analyses he has given. The analysis which the author has given of many other characters is very unsatisfactory, while their true analysis is not so obvious. The system of symbolic analysis of Chinese characters might undoubtedly be prosecuted to much advantage in the study of Chinese, and yet the book before us shows that the author has made little if any advance upon the previous labors of others in the same department, and his book is by no means worthy of the title which he gives to it, of "Discoveries in Chinese."

M. C. WHITE.

* According to the analysis of Chinese characters adopted by Chinese philologists, as exhibited by Dr. Williams in the "Middle Kingdom," vol. i, chap. 10, there are 608 characters evidently pictorial in their origin; 740 composed of two or more pictorial symbols with significations derived from the combined meaning of the elementary symbols; 107 in which the idea is indicated by the position or mode of combination of the elementary symbols; 372 with significations derived by inverting or changing the original position of the elementary symbols; 598 with metaphorical meanings, as when a picture of the heart is used for the mind; and 21810 characters formed on the phonetic system, *i. e.*, by combining two more simple characters, using one merely to express sound, and the other to convey an idea slightly modified from the original idea expressed by that part of the character when used alone.

3. *Roth and Whitney's Edition of the Atharva-Veda.*

Atharva Veda Sanhita herausgegeben von R. Roth und W. D. Whitney. Erste Abth. Berlin, Ferd. Dümmler's Verlagsbuchhandlung: 1855. pp. 890, gr. 8vo.

We welcome this edition of the so-called Fourth Veda with peculiar pleasure. Each of the other Vedas had already found its editor, and was being drawn upon for illustrations of Indian antiquity, far in advance of what could be derived from the Sanskrit literature of the epic age. But the Atharva remained unappropriated, and its contents were almost wholly unknown to the learned world, until our countryman Professor Whitney, at the suggestion of Professor Roth of Tübingen, whose lectures he had been attending, undertook, in conjunction with him, to edit it. The larger share of the work done has thus far fallen to Mr. Whitney; so that this edition of the Atharva, though enriched by the learning of one of the first Sanskritists of Germany, may be regarded as in a great measure the fruit of American scholarship. Nor need we refrain from expressing, in this connection, the hope that, when the work is completed, the nationality of one to whom it will certainly owe a large part of its merit, may be distinctly recognized even on the title-page. Editions of Sanskrit works by American scholars are not as yet *so numerous* that our country can afford to lose any credit in this respect which may properly fall to it.

It is unnecessary to repeat what is stated by Mr. Whitney himself, in previous Numbers of this Journal, respecting the internal character and the age of this Veda, and its relations to the other collections of the same name.* The volume before us embraces the whole of the Atharva-text, with the exception of the twentieth book, which, being made up chiefly of extracts from the Rik, is regarded as an appendage, and not as originally a part of it. Whatever is peculiar in that book, however, will be included in the second fasciculus of this edition. The nineteenth book, also, is considered to be of later date than the previous eighteen, and has caused much labor to the editors, on account of the corrupt state of the text found in all the manuscripts. The reading of the manuscripts in all important places in this book where corrections have been made, is given in the margin, in order to facilitate a judgment upon the emendations adopted. Occasional emendations of the manuscript-readings, in other portions of the text, are left, as we learn from Mr. Whitney, to be pointed out in the notes. The number of manuscripts collated for this edition, either for the whole text, or for portions of it, is quite considerable: namely, seven in Berlin, all incomplete; one in Paris, com-

* See *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* vol. iii. p. 305, ff., vol. iv. p. 254, ff.

plete; two in Oxford, complete or very nearly so; and three in London, one of them incomplete. The number of manuscripts relied upon is, for each portion of the text, from six to eight, in general seven. This is all the manuscript-material known to exist in the European libraries, and is regarded as forming a sufficient foundation for a satisfactory text, considering the well known minute agreement of the Vedic MSS. The aid of other manuscripts would hardly be of much value, unless they should be of another school, and present a sensibly different text; and of the existence of such even in India there is as yet no evidence. For these statements respecting the manuscript authority for a text of the Atharva, we are indebted to a private communication from Mr. Whitney.

The second fasciculus will embrace an introduction to the Atharva, a commentary on the text, consisting of critical and explanatory notes, with citations from the *pada-pâṭha*, or analyzed text, of this Veda, from the *prâtiçâkhya*, or grammatical explanations, belonging to it, from its *anukramaṇî*, or catalogue of authors, subjects and metres, and from its *sûtra*, or ritual, together with a concordance of the Atharva with the other collections of Vedic hymns.

A brief notice of this very important publication must suffice for the present. Even in its incomplete state, it will be appreciated by all who apply themselves to the study of Vedic literature, as well as confer honor upon its editors, and upon the enterprizing publisher. May it also be happily completed!

E. E. S.

VI. Phœnician Inscription of Sidon.

The great work of Gesenius on the existing monuments of Phœnician writing and language, published in 1837, embraces eighty-one inscriptions, of various lengths, exclusive of legends on coins. Since that time, many more have been brought to light. According to a late writer,* there had been discovered, in 1852, thirty-five inscriptions not known to Gesenius. The most important of all these, undoubtedly, is the monument of Marseilles, discovered in 1845, which gives us what may be called the sacrificial code in force at a temple of Baal in that city. But this is much mutilated. For particulars in regard to many of these, the *Etude Démonstr. de la Langue Phén. et de la Langue Libyque*, Paris, 1847, by Mons. A. C. Judas, may be consulted. The present year has added to the number another very valuable inscription, in twenty-two lines, each line containing on

* F. Hoefer in a volume of the series published at Paris under the title of "L'Univers," as we are informed by Mr. Abbot of the Boston Athenæum.

an average forty-six letters, and the whole in perfect preservation. No Phœnician monument which can compare with it in length and condition, has ever before been discovered. It is also unique as regards its locality, having been found at Sidon, in the very heart of ancient Phœnicia. Nor is its intrinsic interest out of keeping with these external circumstances which give it a peculiar value. This discovery was made on the 19th of January last, in the course of excavations undertaken with a view to finding treasure. For some time past, it seems, there has been a vague tradition current at Sidon, that treasure might be found by digging in the old grave-yards of the city; a tradition verified in 1853–54 by the discovery of three copper pots, each containing eight hundred pieces of gold of the coinage of Philip and Alexander of Macedon. Some of these gold-pieces have been sent to this country, and two of them are in the Cabinet of the Oriental Society. The search for gold being prosecuted with renewed ardor, this inscription was disinterred. The following account of the circumstances is extracted from a letter to the editor of the *Journal of Commerce*, dated Beirût, Feb. 11, 1855.

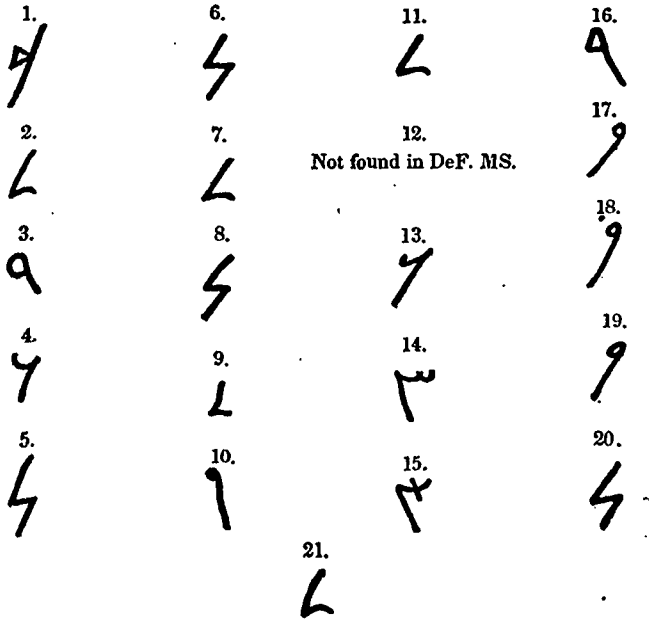
"On the 19th of January last, some men were digging for more hid treasure in an ancient cemetery on the plain of Sidon, called *Mughorat Tubloon*, when, at the depth of about twelve feet below the surface, and near the walls of ancient edifice, they uncovered a sarcophagus, upon the lid of which there is a long Phœnician inscription. The lid is of a blue-black marble, intensely hard and taking a very fine polish. The lid is about eight feet long by four feet wide. The upper end is wrought into the figure of a female [?] head and shoulders of almost a giant size. The features are Egyptian, with large, full, almond-shaped eyes, the nose flattened and lips remarkably thick, and somewhat after the negro-mould. The whole countenance is smiling, agreeable and expressive beyond any thing I have ever seen in the disinterred monuments of Egypt or Nineveh. The head-dress resembles that which appears in Egyptian figures, while on each shoulder there is the head of some bird—a dove or pigeon—and the bosom is covered by what appears to be a sort of cape, with a deep fringe, as of lace. On the lid, below the figure-head, is the inscription, consisting of twenty-two lines, closely written.

. . . . . .

"In the meantime a controversy has arisen in regard to the ownership of the discovered monument, between the English and French consuls in this place. . . . . The Turkish governor of Sidon, in this state of the matter, has closed up the ground and protected it by a guard of soldiers while the question is before the courts. Mr. Thompson informs me that in the process of the diggings the men opened large and elegant rooms cut out of the solid rock, one of which he had entered and examined, and which could be hardly less

than thirty feet square by fifteen in height, the ornamental work of which was of the highest finish."*

Not long after this discovery, the writer received from Dr. H. A. DeForest, of the Syrian Mission of the American Board, a manuscript copy of the inscription. Another copy was sent to the Albany Institute, and was very promptly lithographed under the auspices of that association. A copy of this lithograph, engraved on wood, was published in the *United States Magazine* for April 15th. It is understood to have been Dr. C. V. A. Van Dyck, a missionary of the American Board in Syria, who made the copy from the original. The plate attached to this paper is the Albany lithograph (copies of which were obtained through the kind assistance of Mr. H. A. Homes of the State Library at Albany), with some numbers added over certain letters, referring to the following variations found in the copy received from Dr. DeForest:†



* There is reason to believe that further excavations on Phœnician soil would lead to other important discoveries like this. A correspondent says: "Cannot the Society induce some of your wealthy and generous Bostonians to give the aid of their long purses to some American Layard, for exploring the sites of ancient Tyre, Sidon, Citium, etc. There is every reason to believe that such researches now undertaken would meet with the richest reward."

† A letter from Dr. Smith of Beirût to Dr. Robinson, dated May 15, 1855, says that the inscription still remained "covered in the earth and inaccessi-

Several American scholars have interested themselves in the reading of this inscription, and have communicated on the subject with the writer. These are Prof. J. W. Gibbs of Yale College, Prof. W. H. Green of Nassau Hall, Rev. Dr. J. Murdock of New Haven, Rev. Dr. W. Jenks of Boston, Mr. W. W. Turner of Washington, Mr. W. A. Miller of Albany, and Rev. Dr. C. F. Crusé of New York. It is understood, also, that Rev. W. A. Thomson, and Rev. Dr. E. Smith, well-known American missionaries in Syria, and accomplished scholars, have succeeded in reading the greater part of the inscription. From these gentlemen, however, no communication relative to the particulars of their interpretation is known to have been received, as yet, in this country. Here it is proper to observe that portions of the inscription, of considerable length, present little or no difficulty to one at all acquainted with the Hebrew; while other portions are quite difficult to be interpreted. It must also be remarked, that the similarity of some of the Phœnician letters to one another (particularly of *l* and *n*, which differ only as to the length of their lower limb; and of *d* and *r*, which differ only in the direction in which they incline, while the *b* differs from either *d* or *r* only in its lower limb being curved; and the *ts* and *t*, some forms of which also differ only in the direction in which they incline) gives room to suppose that the copyist may not in all cases have distinguished the letters which make the correct reading; and there is some reason to believe that the stone-cutter may have made occasional mistakes in the original lettering. The obscure passages, therefore, allow of some latitude of interpretation. The following translation has been made by the writer in consultation with Professor Gibbs, and with the valuable assistance of his suggestions and criticisms. It is presented with diffidence, yet not without hope of its contributing to the elucidation of the monument. In the Hebrew transcript, some letters which are supposed to be superfluous in the original, the stone-cutter, or the copyist having carelessly inscribed the same letter twice, are enclosed in parentheses. A character which it seems necessary to supply in the first line, is distinguished by brackets.

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ble;" but refers to a re-examination of the original by Rev. Mr. Thomson, after it was first copied, which led him to "correct a few letters," and adds that Mr. Thomson had "sent his copy to Chevalier Bunsen, who has placed it in the hands of Prof. Ditterich [Dieterici], who will publish it." But whether either of the copies sent to this country embraces these corrections is not known.

COPY OF AN INSCRIPTION
IN PHŒNECIAN CHARACTERS ON A SARCOPHAGUS

Disinterred within a mile of the City of **SIDON**, *on the 19th of January. 1855.*

made by Dr. C. V. A. Van Dyck.

in lines 16 & 17 a small scale has been chipped off; probably by a blow from the pickaxe of a workman engaged in digging

1 a. בירח בל בשנת עסר וארבע ⌐ווו[ו] b. גל מלכימלך אשמנעיד מלך צדנם

2 a. בן מלך תבנת מלך צדנם b. דבר מלך אשמנעיד מלך צדנם לאמר נגזלת

3 a. בלעתי בן מסכי ממאידם יתם בן אלמת b. ושכב אנך בחלתי ובקברי

4 a. במקם אשבנת b. קנמי את כל ממלכת c. וכל אדם אל יפתח איתּ־משכבי ו

5 a. אל יבקש בן מנם כאישם בן מנם b. ואל ישא איתּ־חלת משכבי ואל יעמ

6 ס a. לב משכבי b. עלת משכב שלי אפ אם אדם מי רב דן כאל c. תשמע בדן מכ(כ)ל ממלכת ו

7 a. כל אדם אשיפתח עלת משכבי b. אם אשישא איתּ־חלת משכבי c. אם אשיעמס לב מ

8 שכבי a. אל יכן לם משכב אתּ־רפאם ואל יקבר בקבר b. ואל יכן לם בן וירע

9 תחת a. לם ויסר דן מהאלנם הקדשם את ממלכא b. בראש משל בן מלק

10 צתנם איתּ־ממלכת a. אם אדם הא אשיפתח עלת משכבי b. אם אשישא איתּ־

11 חלתי a. נא יתידע ממלת הא b. אם אדם מ המת אל יכן לם שד שלם טו

12 ב[a.]בן מעלות אר בחים תחת שמש כאנך נח [b.]נ(נ)גזלת בלעתי בן מס

13 כי [a.]ממאידם יתם בן אלמת [b.]אנך (ך) אנך אשמנעיד מלך צדנם בן

14 [a.]מלך תבנת מלך צדנם בן בן [b.]מלך אשמנעיד מלך צדנם ואמי אמעשתרת

15 [a.]כהנת עשתרת רבתן המלכת [b.]בת מלך אזמנעיד מלך צדנם [c.]אם בנן אית בת

16 [a.]אלנם אי ת בת דן ארץ ים [b.]וישדן אית דשתרת שם מאר רם ואנחן

17 [a.]אשבנן בת לאם מ דד שע נר ללב הר וישב לי [b.]שם מאר רם ואנחן אשבנן בתם 232

18 [a.]לאלן צדנם בצדן ארץ ים בת לבעל צדן [b.]ובת לעשתרת שם בעל [c.]ועד יתן לן אדן מלכם

19 [a.]אית דאד ויפי ארץ צר גן האר(ר)ץ אשבשד [b.]שדן למרת עצמת אשפעלת ויספן למ

20 [a.]עלת גבל ארץ לכנן כל צדנם לעלם [b.]קנמי את כל ממלכת [c.]וכל אדם אל יפתח עלתי

21 [a.]ואל יער עלתי ואל יעמס לב משכבי [b.]ואל ישא אית־חלת משכבי [c.]לם יסר דן מ

22 [a.]אלנם הקדשם אל ויקצן הממלכת [b.]הא והאדם מ המת כירעם לעלם

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. In the month Bûl, in the year fourteen, 14, departed the king's king Eshmun'iyed, king of the Sidonians,
" 2. son of king Tabnîth, king of the Sidonians. Speaks king Eshmun'iyed, king of the Sidonians, saying: I have been carried away,
" 3. I have been swallowed up (by Sheol) within my covert; there is an end of burthens within my vestibule; and I am reposing in my enclosure and in my sepulchre,
" 4. in a place which I have built. My imprecatory prohibition in conjunction with all the kingdoms (is as follows): And let no man open my place of repose,
" 5. nor scrutinize, within my place of sleep, how it is with men within the place of sleep, nor take away the enclosure of my place of repose, nor remove
" 6. the inner part of my place of repose. If thou enterest my place of repose, although a man who judgest like El, mayest thou hear a judgment by all the kingdoms.
" 7. And as for every man who shall open the entrance of my place of repose, would that he who shall take away the enclosure of my place of repose, would that he who shall remove the inner part of my place of repose,—
" 8. let there not be prepared for any one whomsoever a place of repose in the society of the Rephaim, and let him not be buried in a sepulchre, nor let there be prepared a son for any one whomsoever, and let it be ill with him below.
" 9. Let whosoever is refractory have a judgment by the holy gods in conjunction with the kingdom, through the head-rule of the son of the king of the Sidonians over the kingdoms.
" 10. Would that that man who shall open the entrance of my place of repose, would that he who shall take away my enclosure,—
" 11. I pray that he may have experience of this saying. Would that the man who kills,—let there not be prepared for any one whomsoever a field of sweet peace
" 12. in the midst of the high-places of the Light, among those living under the sun, after the manner in which I am resting. I have been carried away, I have been swallowed up (by Sheol) within my covert;
" 13. there is an end of burthens within my vestibule. As for me, me Eshmun'iyed, king of the Sidonians, son of
" 14. king Tabnîth, king of the Sidonians, grandson of king Eshmun'iyed, king of the Sidonians, and my mother Amashtoreth,

L. 15. priestess of Ashtoreth our lady, the queen, daughter of king Eshmun'iyed, king of the Sidonians, lo, we have built the house of

" 16. the gods, the house of judgment, of the land of the sea; and we have established the (house of) Ashtoreth—let the name of the Light be exalted! and it is we

" 17. who have built the house of my mother, wide spread, rich, the light of the midst of the hill, and my abode—let the name of the Light be exalted! and it is we who have built the temples of

" 18. the divinity of the Sidonians, in Sidon, the land of the sea: the temple of Baal-Sidon, and the temple of Ashtoreth—the name of Baal (be exalted)! and until the Lord of kings shall give to us

" 19. the delectableness and beauty of the land of Tyre, the garden of the plain country, we have taken possession for Marathus of the fortifications which she made, and we have added to

" 20, the citadels of the borders of the land, in order to protect all the Sidonians forever. My imprecatory prohibition in conjunction with all the kingdoms (is as follows): And let no man open my entrance,

" 21. nor pull down my entrance, nor remove the inner part of my place of repose, nor take away the enclosure of my place of repose. Let whosoever is refractory have a judgment

" 22. by these holy gods, and let the kingdoms cut him off, him, and the man who kills; so that it may be ill with them forever.

Notes.

L. 1. a.—בְּיֶרַח בּוּל בִּשְׁנַת עֶסֶר וְאַרְבַּע ר׀׀׀, i. e. "in the month Bûl, in the year fourteen, 14."—On בּוּל, see 1 Kings 6 : 38. In עֶסֶר the ס is a permutation for שׂ: see Gesenius, *Monum.* p. 432. The date seems to be given in two forms, by words as well as figures, for greater precision. Consequently, as the words must control the figures, an additional unit-mark is to be supplied. The numeral signs here used also mark the dates of the autonomous coins of Sidon, Ptolemais, and Marathus, and have been, hitherto, found only on coins, with one or two exceptions.* The era dated from on these coins is B. C. 111. See *Monum.* pp. 86 ff., 264.

* In the first line of Inscr. Cit. 1. some numerals may be plainly seen, after the expression בִּשְׁנַת, and followed by ... גל מלך, as in the inscription before us. Gesenius has left this passage unexplained: see *Monum.* p. 125.—J. W. G.

L. 1. b.—גְּלָה מַלְכִּימֶלֶךְ אֶשְׁמֻנְעִיד מֶלֶךְ צִידוֹנִים, i. e. "departed the king's king Eshmun'iyed, king of the Sidonians."—On גְּלָה for גָּלָה, see *Monum.* p. 58. מלכימלך must be an epithet. It may be read so as to mean either "the king's king," or "the reigning (as opposed to "titular") king," or "rex a rege constitutus:" comp. the name מֶלְכִּיתֹן = a rege (sc. Baal) datus, in *Monum.* p. 134, Inscr. Cit. 4. A passage in line 18 of this inscription, beginning וְעַד יִתֵּן לָנוּ אֲדוֹן מְלָכִים, favors an interpretation of the epithet as implying subordination, whether to Baal or to some superior human potentate. Such an implication, if supposed, will account for the exclusive use of the simpler title מֶלֶךְ, in the same connection, in all other parts of the inscription. On אֶשְׁמֻנְעִיד = the Restored by Eshmun, see *Monum.* p. 145, Inscr. Cit. 17.

[The frequent occurrence of this name in an inscription purely Phœnician (see lines 1, 2, 13, 14, 15) is a voucher for its Phœnician origin, and shows that Eshmun was a Phœnician divinity: comp. Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, Th. I. p. 527 ff., who combines Eshmun with the celestial sphere, or *primum mobile*.—J. W. G.]

L. 2. a.—בֶּן מֶלֶךְ תַּבְנִית מֶלֶךְ צִידוֹנִים, i. e. "son of king Tabnîth, king of the Sidonians."—Respecting תַּבְנִית, see *Monum.* pp. 115–118, and *Die Phœn.*, I. p. 616 ff. It is probably identical with *Τέννης*, the name given by Diodorus to a king of Sidon in the time of Artaxerxes Ochus: see *Bibl. Hist.*, xvi. § 42 ff. The double *ν* of this name is explained by תַּבְנִית. The name תנת (תַּנִּית) occurs in several Phœnician inscriptions (Athen. 1.; Carthag. 1, 2, 3, 5), as belonging to a female divinity, and has been supposed to be identical with the Greek *Τέννης*. In the application of this name to a man there is an ellipsis of עֶבֶד, as in *Ἀστάρτος* derived from עַשְׁתֹּרֶת for עֶבֶד עַשְׁתֹּרֶת (like the ellipsis of בֵּית in עַשְׁתָּרוֹת for בֵּית עַשְׁתָּרוֹת, Deut. 1 : 4.), the name of a king of Tyre. Gesenius supposed the divinity תנת to be originally Egyptian; but Movers claims for her an Assyrian origin. The tablets of Nineveh may decide the question, and fully identify תבנת with תנת.

L. 2. b.—דָּבַר מֶלֶךְ אֶשְׁמֻנְעִיד מֶלֶךְ צִידוֹנִים לֵאמֹר נִגְזַלְתִּי, i. e. "speaks king Eshmun'iyed, king of the Sidonians, saying: I have been carried away."—On נִגְזַלְתִּי for נִגְזַלְתִּ, see *Monum.* p. 58; Prof. Green first suggested the possibility that the character following the ג of this word might be ז, which gave us our reading.

L. 3. a.—בְּבַלְעִתִי בֵין מוּסְכִי מִמְאֵרִים יְהֹם בֵּין אוּלָמְתִי, i. e. "I have been swallowed up (by Sheol) within my covert; there is an end of burthens within my vestibule."—On בְּבַלְעִתִי, see *Lex.* sub בָּלַע, and Prov. 1 : 12. Respecting מוּסְכִי and אוּלָמְתִי, see 2 Kings 16 : 18 and Ezek. 40 : 7; in the latter word, the fem. form takes the place of the masc. of the Hebrew: see *Monum.* p. 440. For the meaning given to בֵּין, comp. מִבֵּין before a sing. noun in Hebr., and the use of Arab. بين = intra, in the same connection. Observe, in reference to this passage, that the sarcophagus on which this inscription was found, was disinterred "near the walls of an ancient edifice."

L. 3. b.—וְשֹׁכֵב אָנֹכִי בְּחֵילָתִי וּבְקִבְרִי, i. e. "and I am reposing in my enclosure and in my sepulchre."—On חֵילָתִי, see *Lex.* sub חֵיל: the word חֵיל in Hebr. generally denotes a rampart around an open space. With line 3 compare Is. 14 : 18.

L. 4. a.—בְּמָקוֹם אֲשֶׁבָּנִיתִי, i. e. "in a place which I have built."—אֲשֶׁ for אֲשֶׁר is explained by supposing an assimilation of ר to the following consonant, before the dropping off of the initial א.

L. 4. b.—קוּנָמִי אֶת־כָּל־מַמְלְכוֹת, i. e. "my imprecatory prohibition in conjunction with all the kingdoms (is as follows)."—For the reading קוּנָמִי we are indebted to Mr. Turner: see Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* sub קָנַם. By כָּל־מַמְלְכוֹת is to be understood the several kingdoms which at the period of the inscription composed the Phœnician confederation. Movers states (*Die Phœn.*, II. i. p. 550) that, in the time of the Persian supremacy, all the Phœnician cities were united in a confederation, at the head of which stood the royal cities of Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus; and that the central power of the union was a council, consisting of the kings of Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus (Sidon taking the lead), and three hundred other representatives of the three principal cities, together with the high-priest of Ashtoreth. This council took cognizance of affairs of peace and war, and doubtless of the interests of the common religion. The disturbance of the repose of the dead was viewed as a sacrilegious act: see line 9.

L. 4. c.—וְכָל־אָדָם אַל יִפְתַּח אִית־מִשְׁכָּבִי, i. e. "and let no man open my place of repose."—The full form אִית for אֵת before the object is peculiar, but admits of no question. In the Punic passages of Plautus, this particle is *yth;* comp. also Gesenius, *Thes.* sub voce.

L. 5. a.—וְאַל יְבַקֵּשׁ בֵּין מְנוּמִי כְּאִישִׁים בֵּין מָנוֹם, i. e. "nor scrutinize, within my place of sleep, how it is with men within the place of sleep."—The וְ of וְאַל comes from line 4.

L. 5. b.—וְאַל יִשָּׂא אִית־חֵילַת מִשְׁכְּבִי וְאַל יַעֲמֹס, i. e. "nor take away the enclosure of my place of repose, nor remove."—The ס of יַעֲמֹס comes from line 6.

L. 6. a.—לֵב מִשְׁכְּבִי, i. e. "the inner part of my place of repose."—From line 3. b. and the parallelism in lines 5–6 between אַל יַעֲמֹס לֵב מִשְׁכְּבִי and אַל יִשָּׂא אִית־חֵילַת מִשְׁכְּבִי, it appears that by לֵב is meant the קֶבֶר within the חֵילַת.

L. 6. b.—עַוָּתְ מִשְׁכַּב נֹשְׂכִי אַף אִם אָדָם מִי רַב דַּן כְּאֵל, i. e. "if thou enterest my place of repose, although a man who art chief judge, like El."—The change in this line to the form of direct address adds force to the threatening. With רַב דָּן comp. רַב חָרָשׁ = architect, in *Monum.* p. 134, Inscr. Cit. 4; the connection with line 6. c. indicates a play upon the word דָּן. Respecting אֵל, see *Die Phœn.*, II. i. pp. 105, 106, and I. pp. 254 ff., 316 ff. If El was, as Movers says, the local divinity of Byblus and Berytus, this reference to him implies some connection between Sidon and Northern Phœnicia; compare the mention made of Marathus in line 19.

L. 6. c.—תִּשְׁמַע בְּדִין מִכָּל־מַמְלָכוֹת, i. e. "mayest thou hear a judgment by all the kingdoms."—This clause imprecates a judgment upon the supposed offender, on the part of the Phœnician confederation: see note on line 4. b.

L. 7. a.—וְכָל־אָדָם אֲשֶׁר יִפְתַּח עֲלֵת מִשְׁכְּבִי, i. e. "and as for every man who shall open the entrance of my place of repose."—The וְ of וְכָל comes from line 6.

L. 7. b.—אִם אֲשֶׁר יִשָּׂא אִית־חֵילַת מִשְׁכְּבִי, i. e. "would that he who shall take away the enclosure of my place of repose."—

L. 7. c.—אִם אֲשֶׁר יַעֲמֹס לֵב מִשְׁכְּבִי, i. e. "would that he who shall remove the inner part of my place of repose."—שְׁכְּבִי of the word מִשְׁכְּבִי comes from line 8.

L. 8. a.—אַל יְכוֹן לְמִי מִשְׁכַּב אֶת־רְפָאִים וְאַל יִקָּבֵר בְּקֶבֶר, i. e. "let there not be prepared for any one whomsoever a place of repose in the society of the Rephaim, and let him not be buried in a sepulchre."—On רְפָאִים, see *Thes.* sub voce.

L. 8. b.—וְאַל יְכוֹן לְמִי בֵּן וְיֵרוּעַ תַּחַת, i. e. "nor let there be prepared a son for any one whomsoever, and let it be ill with him below."—The word תַּחַת comes from line 9. "Below" = in Sheol.

L. 9. a.—לְמִי וְיָסוּר דִּין מֵהָאֱלוֹנִים הַקְּדֹשִׁים אֶת־מַמְלָכָא, i. e. "let whosoever is refractory have a judgment by the holy gods in conjunction with the kingdom."—The ו of וְיָסוּר has the force of a relative: see Nordheimer, *Gr. Hebr.* § 1093, 2. a. On אֱלוֹנִים, see *Monum.* pp. 368, 369, Pun. ap. Plaut., and compare the name *Abdalonimus*, given to a Phœnician king by Quintus Curtius and Justin; the initial א of this word is a permutation for ע: see Judas, *Étude Démonstr.* p. 111. The final א of מַמְלָכָא is a fem. sign: see *Monum.* p. 440.

L. 9. b.—בְּרֹאשׁ מֹשֶׁל בֶּן מֶלֶךְ צִיתוֹנִים אִית־מַמְלָכוֹת, i. e. "through the head-rule of the son of the king of the Sidonians over the kingdoms."—The words צִיתוֹנִים אִית־מַמְלָכוֹת come from line 10. The ק of מֶלֶךְ is a permutation for כ; and the ת of צִיתוֹנִים, the same for ד. With regard to the meaning of this clause, see note on line 4. b., and comp. line 6. c. The offender is threatened with a judgment by the protecting gods of the kingdom of Sidon, through the headship of Eshmun-'iyed's successor over the Phœnician confederation.

L. 10. a.—אִם אָדָם הוּא אֲשֶׁר־יִפְתַּח עַל־מִשְׁכָּבִי, i. e. "would that that man who shall open the entrance of my place of repose."—

L. 10. b.—אִם אֲשֶׁר־יִשָּׂא אִית־חֵילָתִי, i. e. "would that he who shall take away my enclosure."—The word חֵילָתִי comes from line 11.

L. 11. a.—נָא־יִתְיַדַּע מִמַּה הִיא, i. e. "I pray that he may have experience of this saying."—On the grammatical form of יִתְיַדַּע, comp. *Gr. Hebr.* § 358; and for the meaning given to it, see Id. § 152.

L. 11. b.—אִם אָדָם מִי הַמֵּית אַל יְכוֹן לְמִי שְׂדֵה שָׁלוֹם טוֹב, i. e. "would that the man who kills—let there not be prepared for any one whomsoever a field of sweet peace."—The ב of טוֹב comes from line 12. On שְׂדֵ for שְׂדֵה, comp. *Monum.* p. 58.

L. 12. a.—בֵּין מַעֲלוֹת אוֹר בְּחַיִּם תַּחַת שֶׁמֶשׁ כְּאֲנֹכִי נָח, i. e. "in the midst of the high-places of the Light, among those living under the sun, after the manner in which I am resting."—With מַעֲלוֹת אוֹר comp. מַעֲלוֹת בַּעַל, recognized in *Monum.* p. 424 as the original of Malethubalus, the name of a mountain in Mauritania; comp. also בָּמוֹת בַּעַל in Numb. 22 : 41, and see 2 Kings 17 : 32. אוֹר probably refers to Baal: comp. שֵׁם מָאוֹר רִים in line 16. b., and see, on the sidereal significance of Baal and Ashtoreth, *Die Phœn.*, I. pp. 180 ff., 605 ff.

L. 12. b. } This passage is a repetition from line 2. b.—line 3. a. as fol-
L. 13. a. } lows: נִגְזַלְתִּי בַּלַּעְתִּי בֵּין מוֹסְכֵי מַאֲדִים יִתֵּם בֵּין אוּלָמָתִי, i. e. "I have been carried away, I have been swallowed up

(by Sheol) within my covert; there is an end of burthens within my vestibule."—

L. 13. b.—אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי אֶשְׁמֶנְעֶזֶר מֶלֶךְ צִידוֹנִים בֶּן, i. e. "as for me, me Eshmun'iyed, king of the Sidonians, son of."—On the repetition of אנכי, see *Gr. Hebr.* § 851.

L. 14. a.—מֶלֶךְ תַּבְנִית מֶלֶךְ צִידוֹנִים בֶּן בֶּן, i. e. "king Tabnîth, king of the Sidonians, grandson of."—

L. 14. b.—מֶלֶךְ אֶשְׁמֶנְעֶזֶר מֶלֶךְ צִידוֹנִים וְאִמִּי אַמַּעַשְׁתֹּרֶת, i. e. "king Eshmun'iyed, king of the Sidonians, and my mother Amashtoreth."—The name of the king's mother is probably a contraction from אַמַּת עַשְׁתֹּרֶת = the handmaid of Ashtoreth: see *Monum.* p. 132, Inscr. Cit. 2.

L. 15. a.—כֹּוהֶנֶת עַשְׁתֹּרֶת רַבַּתְנוּ הַמַּלְכַּת, i. e. "priestess of Ashtoreth our lady, the queen."—On the fem. sign ת in כֹּוהֶנֶת, רַבַּת and הַמַּלְכַּת, see *Monum.* p. 439. The title of רַבַּת is given to the goddess תָּנִית in several Phœnician inscriptions of Carthage.

L. 15. b.—בַּת מֶלֶךְ אֶזְמֶנְעֶזֶר מֶלֶךְ צִידוֹנִים, i. e. "daughter of king Eshmun'iyed, king of the Sidonians."—The name אֶזְמֶנְעֶזֶר is undoubtedly identical with אֶשְׁמֶנְעֶזֶר, by a permutation of ז for שׁ, whether the king referred to is the grandfather of Eshmun'iyed II. or not: it is quite possible that Tabnîth married his sister, especially if she had not the same mother as himself.

L. 15. c.—אִם בָּנִינוּ אִית־בַּיִת, i. e. "lo, we have built the house of."—

L. 16. a.—אֱלוֹנִם אִית־בַּיִת דִּין אֶרֶץ יָם, i. e. "the gods, the house of judgment, of the land of the sea."

L. 16. b.—וְיַשְׁדְנוּ אִית־דַּשְׁתֹּרֶת שֵׁם פָּאֹר רוּם וַאֲנַחְנוּ, i. e. "and we have established the (house of) Ashtoreth—let the name of the Light be exalted! and it is we."—The שׁ of יַשְׁדְנוּ is a permutation for ס. דַּשְׁתֹּרֶת is a contraction from דִּיעַשְׁתֹּרֶת, there being an ellipsis of בַּיִת (see note on line 2. a.), and דִּי being the gen. sign, borrowed from the Syriac: see *Monum.* p. 144. Perhaps the building here spoken of was the residence of the priestesses of Ashtoreth; line 18 shows that it was not a temple. For an ejaculation similar in form to that supposed in this and the next line, see *Monum.* p. 215, Inscr. Tripol. 1. Line 18. b. shows that פָּאֹר was a title of Baal.

L. 17. a.—אֲשֶׁר בָּנִינוּ בַּיִת לְאִמִּי מָדוּד שׁוּעַ נִיר לְלֵב הַר וְיָשֶׁב לִי, i. e. "who have built the house of my mother, wide spread, rich, the light of the midst of the hill, and my abode."—

L. 17. b.—שֵׁם מְאוֹר רוּם וְאַנַחְנוּ אֲשֶׁבְּנִינוּ בָתִּים, i. e. "let the name of the Light be exalted! and it is we who have built the temples."

L. 18. a.—לַאֲלוֹנֵי צִידוֹנִים בְּצִידוֹן אֶרֶץ יָם בַּיִת לְבַעַל צִידוֹן, i. e. "of the gods of the Sidonians, in Sidon, the land of the sea: the temple of Baal-Sidon."—On אֲלוֹנֵי for אֱלוֹנֵי, see *Monum.* p. 58. With בַּעַל צִידוֹן comp. בַּעַל צֹר = Baal (tutelar god of) Tyre, *Monum.* p. 96, Inscr. Melit. 1.

L. 18. b.—וּבַיִת לְעַשְׁתֹּרֶת שֵׁם בַּעַל, i. e. "and the temple of Ashtoreth, the name of Baal (be exalted)!"—There appears to be an ellipsis, here, of רוּם, which is easily supplied from the context: see lines 16, 17.

L. 18. c.—וְעַד יְהֵן לָנוּ אֲדוֹן מְלָכִים, i. e. "and until the Lord of kings shall give to us"—אֲדוֹן מְלָכִים means either Baal, or some superior human potentate: see the note on line 1. b. "Us" = our dynasty.

L. 19. a.—אִית־דּוֹד וְיִפִי אֶרֶץ צֹר גַּן דָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁבְּשָׂדֶה, i. e. "the delectableness and beauty of the land of Tyre, the garden of the plain country."—The form of צ in צֹר and דָּאָרֶץ, as in אֶרֶץ of l. 16. a., differs from that found elsewhere in the inscription; but the same form is used interchangeably with א in the names of Tyre and Sidon and the Sidonians, on the coins of those cities: see *Monum.* Tab. 34. At the date of this inscription, then, Tyre had separated itself from the Phœnician confederacy. The Tyrians, we know, did not act with the other states of Phœnicia in reference to submission to Alexander: see Diodorus, *Bibl. Hist.*, xvii. § 40.

L. 19. b.—שַׁדְנוּ לְמַרַת עֲצֻמוֹת אֲשֶׁפְעֶלֶת וְיִסְפְּנוּ לְ, i. e. "we have taken possession for Marathus of the fortifications which she made, and we have added to."—From a very early period, the city of Marathus and the island of Aradus lying opposite to it, were politically united under the king of the latter. In the time of the Seleucidæ, Marathus was destroyed by the Aradians. See *Die Phœn.*, II. i. pp. 100–102.

L. 20. a.—מַעֲלוֹת גְּבוּל אֶרֶץ לְכֹנֵן כֹּל־צִידוֹנִים לְעוֹלָם, i. e. "the citadels of the borders of the land, in order to protect all the Sidonians forever." The initial מ of מַעֲלוֹת comes from line 19. This word seems to have the same double meaning which בָּמוֹת has in Hebr.: comp. מַעֲלוֹת אוֹר in line 12. a. and Ps. 18 : 34 with 2 Kings 17 : 32. On כֹּל־צִידוֹנִים, see *Die Phœn.*, II. i. p. 92: the name "Sidonians" is here applied to the people of all the kingdoms of the Phœnician confederacy, Sidon being the political head.

L. 20. b.—This passage is a repetition of line 4. b. as follows: קוֹנָמִי אֶת־כֹּל־מַמְלָכוֹת, i. e. "my imprecatory prohibition, in conjunction with all the kingdoms (is as follows)."—

L. 20. c.—וְכָל־אָדָם אַל יִפְתַּח עַלְיָתִי, i. e. "and let no man open my entrance."—

L. 21. a.—וְאַל יַעֲרֶה עַלְיָתִי וְאַל יַעֲמֹס לֵב מִשְׁכָּבִי, i. e. "nor pull down my entrance, nor remove the inner part of my place of repose."—See the note on line 6. a.

L. 21. b.—וְאַל יִשָּׂא אִית־חֵילַת מִשְׁכָּבִי, i. e. "nor take away the enclosure of my place of repose."—

L. 21. c.—לְמִי יְסוּר דִּין, i. e. "let whosoever is refractory have a judgment."—Comp. line 9. a. We read יְסוּר, here, by a slight alteration of the Phœnician text, substituting 4 for 1.

L. 22. a.—מֵאֱלוֹנִים הַקְּדוֹשִׁים אֵלֶּה וְיִקְצוּגוּ הַמַּמְלָכוֹת, i. e. "by these holy gods, and let the kingdoms cut him off."—The initial מ of מֵאֱלוֹנִים comes from line 21. אֵלֶּה, rather than אֵל, is sanctioned by *hily* in Plaut. 1, 9: see *Monum.* pp. 368, 438. On the agreement of הַמַּמְלָכוֹת with יִקְצוּן (masc. pl.) see *Gr. Hebr.* § 757. 2; and on the grammatical form of יִקְצוּן, Id. § 82. 1.

L. 22. b.—הוּא וְאָדָם מִי הֲמִית כִּי יֵרַע לָעוֹלָם, i. e. "him, and the man who kills; so that it may be ill with them forever."—The repetition of the pronoun which is the object of the verb יִקְצוּן, is emphatic: see *Gr. Hebr.* § 865. 2. a.

To these notes may be properly appended some brief remarks on the contents of the inscription. The substance of it, as will have been seen from the translation given, is a series of direful imprecations against any one who may in any way violate the repose of the deceased king. But, what is of more importance, it incidentally adds to our lists of kings of Sidon the names of three in succession, of one dynasty; mentions the public works of one of them, and of his mother; gives intimations of the mutual relations of the principal cities of Phœnicia, and of the position of Sidon, in reference to the others, at the date of the inscription; and indicates the sort of government then wielded by the Phœnician kings, showing it to have been theocratic. The particular gods who were the objects of worship are also named: Baal and Ashtoreth, the gods of Sidon and Tyre in the most ancient times of which we have any record (see 1 Kings 16 : 31, 11 : 33), and Eshmun, a recognized divinity of the Phœnicians. This inscription also presents a view of the state of

the dead, which is of great interest for comparison with the representation of Sheol in the Hebrew Scriptures, as, for example, in the fourteenth chapter of Isaiah. It is important to add, in respect to the language of the inscription, that it accords with the view now generally entertained of the Phœnician langauge, that it was nearly identical with the Hebrew in its words, inflections, and construction.

The connection of the dynasty referred to with personages of Sidonian history already known, involving the date of the inscription, is a point of the highest interest, as is apparent, not only in itself, but because the value of the contents of the inscription depends, in a great measure, upon its determination. We will, therefore, briefly state some grounds for the opinion that this inscription belongs to the latter half of the fourth century before Christ. It is to be observed, that the only Sidonian era, hitherto known to us, is that used on the autonomous coins of Sidon, which, as already stated, was coincident with B. C. 111; and it will be remembered that the numeral signs for the dates on those coins, as also on the coins of Ptolemais and Marathus which have been preserved, are identical with the numerals found in the first line of this inscription. One might be disposed, therefore, to count the year 14 of the inscription from B. C. 111, making its date to be B. C. 97. This conclusion, however, does not force itself upon us, and there are reasons for believing the inscription to be much more ancient; so that its era must be different from that of the coins referred to. A comparison of this inscription with those collected by Pococke in Cyprus, to which Gesenius assigns an age not long posterior to Alexander, at the latest, shows it to be older, paleographically considered, certainly not more recent, than those. To this is to be added, that one of those very inscriptions of Cyprus reads לְאֶשְׁמֻנְעֶזֶר = To Eshmun'iyed, giving us the same name as that of the king on whose sarcophagus the inscription of Sidon appears; and, considering the well-known intimate relations between Sidon and Cyprus, it seems not unlikely that the same person is intended. But this identification is rendered more plausible by what Diodorus tells us (*Bibl. Hist.*, § 42 ff.) of a king of Sidon named *Τέννης*, cotemporary with Artaxerxes Ochus, and subordinate to him, who revolted from the Persian king about B. C. 350. It has been already observed, that the name of the father of Eshmun'iyed II. of the inscription, הַבְנִית, serves to confirm the supposed connection between that Greek name and the name of the goddess תנת (תַּנִּית). This, so far as it goes, would indicate an identity between Tennes and the Tabnîth of the inscription. Now Diodorus says that Sidon, in consequence of the revolt under Tennes, was besieged by Artaxerxes, and at length, having fallen into the hands of the Persians, was set on fire and destroyed by the Sidonians themselves; and that Tennes, although he had betrayed his city, was

put to death by Artaxerxes. With these circumstances the tenor of the inscription of Sidon coincides in two important particulars. In the first place, several lines of this inscription are occupied with an enumeration of buildings erected, and such buildings as could not well have been wanting except in consequence of some casualty. These public works evidently constituted a leading feature of the reign of Eshmun'iyed II. But Sidon was rebuilt after its destruction in the time of Artaxerxes, and before Alexander's conquest of Phœnicia; for the latter, about B. C. 320, found a king reigning there, supported by Darius, and took the city (see Arrian, *Exped. Alex.* ii. 15, 6; Q. Curtius, *De Rebus Gestis Alex.* iv. 1, 15 ff.). In the next place, the mother of Eshmun'iyed II. is spoken of in the inscription as a reigning queen, for it appears that the architectural works commemorated were executed under her and her son's joint direction; which implies that her husband was no longer living. These coincidences render it quite probable that the father of Eshmun'iyed II., called Tabnîth in the inscription, was no other than the Tennes of Diodorus. Another consideration, showing the inscription to be not later than Alexander's conquest of Phœnicia, is its frequent reference to a confederacy of Phœnician kingdoms, which can scarcely have existed after Alexander's system of administration over conquered countries had been established there.

The question remains, from what era is the inscription dated. In view of the circumstances which have been alluded to, it seems most probable that the era of this inscription is the re-building of Sidon between B. C. 350 and 320; and, as it is dated in the year 14, it may be set down as very near the truth, that it belongs to the latter half of the generation intervening between the destruction of Sidon in the time of Artaxerxes and its surrender to Alexander.

We now give place to an independent interpretation by our highly esteemed co-laborer Mr. Turner.

E. E. S.

VII. The Sidon Inscription, with a Translation and Notes. By William W. Turner.

This document is provocative of many remarks palæographical, philological, historical, and mythological, with which scholars will doubtless favor the world in due time. I however shall confine myself almost wholly to contributing my mite towards the reading and interpretation of the inscription itself, though taking occasion to add such observations on the topics connected with it as shall spontaneously suggest themselves.

1 בירח כל בשנת עסר וארבע ר־111 ג למלכי מלך אשמנעיר מלך צדנם
2 בן מלך תבנת מלך צדנם דבר מלך אשמנעיר מלך צדנם לאמר נגילת
3 בלעתי בן מסך ים מאיד מיתמבנאל מת ושכב אנך בחלתי ובקברי
4 במקם אש בנת קנמי את כל ממלכת וכל אדם אל יפתח את משכבי ו
5 אל יבקש בן מנם כאישם בן מנם ואל ישא את חלת משכבי ואל יעם
6 ס נב משכבי עלת משכב שני אף אם אדמם ידברנך אל תשמע ברנמך כל ממלכת ו
7 כל אדם אש יפתח עלת משכבי אם אש ישא את חלת משכבי אם אש יעמס נב מ
8 שכבי אל יכן לם משכב את רפאם ואל יקבר בקבר ואל יכן לם בן ויר׳ע
9 תחתנם ויסרדנם האלנם הקדשם את ממלכא בראש משל בנמל ק
10 צתנם את ממלכת אם אדם הא אש יפתח עלת משכבי אם אש ישא את
11 חלתי נאת ידע ממלת הא אם אדם מהמת אל יכן לם שב שלם טו

12 ב דן מעלות אד בחים תחת שמש כאנך נחן נגילת בלעתי בן מס
13 ך ים מאיד מיתמבנאל מת אנך [המל]ך אנך אשמנעיר מלך צדנם בן
14 מלך תבנת מלך צדנם בן בן מלך אשמנעיר מלך צדנם ואמי אמעשתרת
15 כהנת עשתרת רבתן המלכת בת מלך אימנעיר מלך צדנם אם בנן אית בת
16 אלנם אית בת דן אדת ים ויש דן איתד שתרת שם מאדרם ואנחן
17 אש בנן בת לאמם [א]ך ישען ידלל בהד ויש בני שם מאדרם ואנחן אש בנן בתם
18 לאלן צדנם בצדן ארץ ים בת לבעל צדן ובת לעשתרת שם בעל וער יתן לן אדן מלכם
19 אית דאד ויפי ארץ תרגן האדרת אש בשב שדן למדת עצמת אש פעלת ויספננם
20 עלת גבל ארץ לכנן כל צדנם לעלם קנמי את כל ממלכת וכל אדם אל יפתח עלתי
21 ואל יעד עלתי ואל יעמס נב משכבי ואל ישא אית חלת משכבי לם ויסגדנם
22 אלנם הקדשם אל ויקצנה ממלכת הא והאדם מהמת כירעם לעלם

TRANSLATION.

1. In the month Bul, in the year fourteen, the 13th anniversary of the king, King Ashmunyyer, king of the Sidonians,
2. son of King Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, spake King Ashmunyyer, king of the Sidonians, saying:
3. I, son of the molten sea-god, have received a wound from the hand of Mithumbenel; I am dead, and am resting in my sepulchre and in my grave,
4. in the place which I built. My curse to every kingdom and to every man: Let him not open my resting-place, and
5. let not a son of liars seek that I destroy a son of liars, and let him not remove the sepulchre of my resting-place, and let him not take
6. the fruit of my resting-place [or] the cover of the resting-place where I sleep. Yea, if men speak to thee, hearken not to thine enticer. Any kingdom or
7. any man who shall open the cover of my resting-place, or who shall remove the sepulchre of my resting-place, or who shall take the fruit of my
8. resting-place, let them not have a resting-place with the shades, and let him not be buried in a grave, and let them not have a child, and let it go ill
9. because of them, and let the holy gods terrify them, even the kingdom with the ruling prince; wholly cutting
10. them off, even the kingdom or that man who shall open the cover of my resting-place, or who shall remove
11. my sepulchre. Neith shall know of that matter. Yea, a man that slayeth they shall have no dwelling in peace. Good is
12. the judgment from on high! Behold in life, as I was resting beneath the sun, I, son of the molten sea-god, received a wound
13. from the hand of Mithumbenel; I, the king, am dead. I Ashmunyyer, king of the Sidonians, son
14. of King Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, grandson of King Ashmunyyer, king of the Sidonians, and my mother Emashtoreth,
15. priestess of Ashtoreth, our lady the queen, daughter of King Imanyyer, king of the Sidonians, behold we built the temple
16. of the gods, the temple of justice, by the sea—and justice is the support of the stars! There shall they be worshipped; and we
17. who have built a temple for the peoples, behold our guilt shall be diminished thereby, and there shall my children worship. And we who have built temples
18. to the god of the Sidonians, in Sidon, the land of the sea, a temple to Baal-Sidon, and a temple to Ashtoreth the glory of Baal, to us Lord Milcom giveth a city

19. the desire and beauty of the earth, our glorious delight, which is in the dwelling of our deity, to stretch out the fortresses which I have made; and they have been constructed
20. on the border of the land, to strengthen all the Sidonians for ever. My curse to every kingdom and to every man: Let him not open my cover,
21. and not remove my cover, and let him not take the fruit of my resting-place, and not remove the sepulchre of my resting-place. As for them, those
22. holy gods shall humble them; and they shall cut off that kingdom and the man that slayeth, that it may be ill with them for ever.

NOTES.

Line 1.

בירח בל *in the month Bul.* What this means is shown in 1 Kings 6, 38, where it is said, בְּיֶרַח בּוּל הוּא הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁמִינִי *in the month Bul, that is, the eighth month.* The occurrence of the term *Bul* in this place seems a sufficient refutation of the idea that this and some other ancient names applied to months in the Bible were rather appellatives than ordinary names.

עסר is the Aramaic form for the Heb. עֶשֶׂר.

𐤋𐤋𐤋 ⌒. The curved longitudinal stroke signifies 10, and the perpendicular strokes are units (Gesen. Monn. Phœn. p. 85, sqq.) There are two coins published by Swinton (Philos. Trans. Vol. 4, Pl. 31), but omitted by Gesenius, which bear the dates 𐤋𐤋𐤋𐤍𐤋 𐤔𐤊 (year CXXVI) and 𐤋𐤋𐤋𐤋𐤋𐤋𐤍𐤋 𐤔𐤊 (year CXXVIII). Under both of them occurs the character ∧ (whose alphabetitical value is that of ג), of which Swinton offers no explanation. Perhaps it may be a contraction for גל = Heb. גִּיל *circle, cycle, age,* but employed in the sense of annual revolution, *year.* In that case we may read 𐤋𐤋𐤋 ג למלכי ⌒ *the 13th anniversary,* or *year, of my king* or *the king.* For this use of the pronoun, comp. the Heb. אֲדֹנִי, Syr. ܡܪܝ, Fr. *monsieur.*

אשמנעיר *Ashmunyyer.* On No. 17 of the inscriptions found by Pococke at Citium is the name 𐤀𐤔𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤉𐤓, which Gesenius reads אֶשְׁמֻן־עִיֵּד *Eshmun-'yyed* (*quem Aesculapius restituit*) (Monn. Phœn. p. 145). He remarks, however, that it might also be read אֶשְׁמֻנְעִיֵּר *Eshmun'yyer* (*quem Aesculapius suscitavit*), which likewise yields a good sense; and this latter reading is adopted by Movers, who remarks that the

name is also found in another inscription of Citium since discovered by the Grecian archæologist L. Ross (Art. *Phœnizier*, in Ersch u. Gruber's Encyclop. p. 424). In the Sidon inscription the forms of ד and ר are so confounded that, although the name occurs in it no less than four times (lines 1, 2, 13, 14), the proper reading cannot be determined from it. Supposing that the inscription of Ross (which I have not been able to see) is sufficiently clear to settle the question, I have followed the reading of Movers. The name אשמן *Ἐσμοῦν*, the Phœnician Æsculapius (Ges. Monn. Phœn., p. 136), occurs a number of times alone and in composition on inscriptions of Citium, Carthage, Athens, and Marseilles (Ges. l. c. p. 347, Movers l. c. p. 396); but this is the first time it has been found in Phœnicia proper.

מלך אשמנעיר *King Ashmunyyer*. In the titles מלך אשמנעיר, מלך תבנת, מלך ארמנעיר, the appellative מלך *king* is placed *before* the name of the sovereign, in accordance with the best Hebrew usage; but it has not as in Hebrew the article.

Line 2.

תבנת. Perhaps i. q. Heb. תַּבְנִית *form, image*, and hence to be read *Tabnith*.

נגילת *a thrust, wound*, from נָגַל (whence Heb. מַגָּל *a sickle*) = Arab. نجل *to pierce*. This and the following words appear again in lines 12, 13.

Line 3.

בלעתי I suppose to be employed, like the Pers. خوردن, which also means literally *to swallow*, in the sense of *to receive, to suffer*, as عذاب خوردن *to suffer torment*, غم خوردن *to be afflicted;* so that נגילת בלעתי will mean *I received* (or *had inflicted upon me*) *a wound*. It is difficult to reconcile this form of the 1st pers. pret. with the Aramæan form בנת (line 4), פעלת (l. 19), unless we suppose it to be emphatic.

מסך ים I at first proposed to read either מסכים *shelterers, protectors* (Hiphil. part. of סָכַךְ), or perhaps better מָסְכִים *anointed ones* (Hoph. part. of נָסַךְ), in the sense of the passive of Kal, as in Ps. 2, 6. So that the phrase בן מסכים would signify *the offspring* or *descendant of crowned heads* or *princes*. Both these readings are however untenable, as they suppose an anomaly in the orthography of the plural termination, which elsewhere throughout the inscription is written, in the Phœnician manner, defectively. The reading adopted assumes מסך to be i. q. the Heb. מַסֵּכָה, and to mean *a molten idol, a brazen god;* and this may be either Baal (see 2 Chron. 28, 2) or Molech (see Ges.

Lex. art. מֹלֶךְ). The king may be supposed to call himself the *son* of his deity, either as his worshipper or as claiming descent from him in the style of Oriental sovereigns. As a counterpart to the expression *idol* or *god of the sea, sea-god*, to denote the god of a people bordering on the sea, we have the term אֶרֶץ יָם *land of the sea*, applied (l. 18) to the Sidonian territory.

At the beginning of line 13 in the lithograph is a mark which resembles ל. If it were this letter, it would indicate that here probably are two nouns in the relation to each other of possessor and possessed, which relation in the former instance is indicated by their juxtaposition and in the latter by the prep. ל. But this does not appear to be the case; for the character differs in form from the other Lameds, and likewise projects somewhat beyond the margin of the inscription, so that we are justified in concluding that it is not a letter at all, but a mere scratch or flaw in the marble. This conclusion is confirmed by the MS. copy of the inscription received from Dr. DeForest, which presents no trace of the character in question.

מאיד. Here איד is supposed to be the word יד written with א prosthetic, like Syr. ܐܝܕܐ *hand*.

מיתמבנאל. Perhaps the first part of the word is that of the Plautinian name *Muthumballes*, which, however, Gesenius reads מְתוּבַעַל, and Quatremère מַתַּן בַּעַל. May not its etymology be מִי־יִתֵּן־בֶּן־אֵל?

וישכב act. part. Kal. In the same sense Is. 14, 18: *all the kings of the nations* שְׁכָבוּ בְכָבוֹד אִישׁ בְּבֵיתוֹ *lie in glory each in his own house*. Comp. too the oft recurring phrase וַיִּשְׁכַּב עִם אֲבוֹתָיו *and he slept with his fathers*. Gesenius remarks (Monn. Phœn. p. 438), that the act. part. is always written defectively in Phœnician. It should be observed, however, that both here and in the plural termination the Phœn. vowel may be *a*, in which case no mater lectionis is required.

בחלתי *in my sepulchre*. The connexions in which the word חלת occurs besides the present instance (lines 5, 7, 11, 21) show clearly that it signifies a *coffin* or *sarcophagus*. Accordingly we may regard it as meaning literally a *hollow vessel*, and compare Arab. خلى *a bee-hive, a ship*; خُلَّة *a horse's nose-bag, a saddle-bag, wallet*; from خلى *to be empty*. Or we may suppose it to mean literally *a polished vessel*, from the root חָלַת *to polish*; which last is singularly suitable to the description of the sarcophagus by the correspondent of the New York Journal of Commerce, who says: "The lid is a fine blue-black marble, intensely hard, and taking a *very fine polish*."

Line 4.

בנת *I built.* Whether this is to be considered as written defectively and pronounced *banti*, or whether it is to be read in the Aramæan manner *beneth*, it is not easy to say. The former opinion would seem the most probable from the fact that the verb בלעתי above (if correctly interpreted) follows the Hebrew usage, as does also the verb *siccarthi* or *sicorathi* of Plautus, were it not that the omission of a sign for ī at the end of a word is an anomaly unknown to the Shemitish languages.

קנמי *my prohibition* or *my curse.* Buxtorf (Lex. Chald.) explains the Talmudical word קוֹנָם as a vow of prohibition, and קוּנמי as *juramenta, vota cum execrationibus.* True, he says קוֹנָם is corrupted from קרבן, and if so, it could hardly be a Phœnician word; but it is difficult to see how this can be the case, as קרבן has a very different meaning.

ממלכת *kingdom.* The word also occurs in this form in lines 6, 10, 20, 22, and only once (l. 9) in the form ממלכא; and this agrees with the conclusions arrived at by Gesenius and Movers, who state that the fem. of Phœnician nouns is formed by far the most frequently in ת, seldomer in א, and never in ה. Why the form ממלכא should be used in line 9 I cannot say. ממלכת is probably the true reading on the coins of the two Jubas (Gesen. Monn. Phœn. Pl. 42).

אל יפתח *let him not open.* The negative particle אַל, corresponding to the Greek μή and Lat. *ne*, is found in Phœnician for the first time in this inscription, where it occurs repeatedly. בל is used in the same sense in line 15 of the Marseilles inscription.

אית sign of the accusative, i. q. Heb. אֵת. This form favors Hupfeld's opinion that אֵת is from the Aram. אִית, יִת i. q. יֵשׁ. It agrees too with the Plautinian pronunciation *yth.*

משכבי *my resting-place.* מִשְׁכָּב is used in the sense of *bier, coffin,* in Is. 57, 2. 2 Chron. 16, 14. and in the Oxford inscription. (Ges. Monn. Phœn. p. 130).

Line 5.

אל יבקש בנמנמאישמבנמנם. It is evident that this, however we may read it, must make a complete sense. The following is proposed: אַל יְבַקֵּשׁ בֶּן־מָנִם כְּאִישֵׁם בֶּן־מָנִם *let not a son of liars seek that I destroy a son of liars.* Here מָן is considered as the act. part. of מוּן and i. q. Arab. مَانَ. The opprobrious term בן מנם applied to whomsoever shall violate the defunct's tomb is thus opposed to the honorable one of בן מכך ים assumed by himself. The threatened destruction will be through the curses which follow.

ואל יעמס נב משכבי *and let him not take the fruit of my resting-place*, i. e. my body contained within it. The verb occurs also in the Marseilles inscription (l. 13), in the phrase (as read by Movers) אש יעמס פנת אלם *which one brings before the gods*. It seems that the verb עמס, like נשׂא, means primarily *to lift* or *take up*, and then *to take, to bring*. נב i. q. Heb. נִיב (נוב Is. 57, 19 in Cheth.), which is used in a similar figurative manner in Mal. 1, 12, where the food on the Lord's table is called נִיבוֹ *its fruit*.

Line 6.

עלת. We may derive it from the Aram. עֶלֶל *to enter*, and consider it to mean *an entrance, opening, door;* or from Heb. עָלָה *to go up, to ascend*, when it will signify the *upper part, top, lid*. Either of these meanings will suit the context, as in each of the subsequent instances where it occurs it forms the complement of the verb פָּתַח *to open*. On account of the close connexion of the two languages it appears safer to adopt a Hebrew etymology when one offers.

שני *my sleep*, from יָשֵׁן, which is repeatedly used in Scripture of the sleep of death. Hence the phrase משכב שני *the resting-place where I sleep* (lit. *my resting-place of sleep*) is closely analogous to the משכב נחתי *my quiet resting-place* of the Oxford inscription (Ges. Monn. Phœn. p. 130).

אדמם *men*. To avoid assuming a plural form of this noun, which is unknown in Hebrew, I at first read אם אדם מי דבר נך *if any man should say, Strike!* i. e. break open the tomb; but the objections to this are still greater.

אף אם אדמם ידברנך *yea, if men speak to thee*, scil. urging thee to do this. In the verb the final *Nun* of the fut. 3d pers. plur. is retained, as occasionally in Hebrew and regularly in Aramaic; and so in ויסרדנם (l. 9), ויספנגם (l. 19), יסגרנם (l. 21), ויקצנה (l. 22).

ברנמך. The only illustration that presents itself of this word is the Arab. زَمَّ *to sing*, which is applied also to the cooing of doves, the stridulous noise of locusts, the twanging of a bow-string, &c. It may be considered as the act. part. (with prep. and suff.) signifying *he who sings* or *mutters to thee, thine enticer*. This seems forced, but it is the best I can do with it.

Line 7.

אם *or;* and so in line 10. This use of אם is found also in the Marseilles inscription. See Movers, Phœn. Texte, II, 110.

Line 8.

אל יכן לם *let them not have*. So repeatedly in the Marseilles inscription; comp. especially the phrase בל יכן לכהנם *the priests*

shall not have (l. 15). The verb כון is i. q. the Arab. كَانَ, which means originally *to stand*, and then *to exist, to be*, like Ital. *star* and Span. *estar*. See Movers, Phœn. Texte II, 97; Ewald, Jahrbb. der bibl. Wiss. I, 198; and Blau in the Zeitschr. der D. M. G. III, 441.

Line 9.

תחתנם *because of them*, i. q. Heb. תַּחְתֵּיהֶם or תַּחְתָּם. The נ may be considered as the plural termination retained before a suffix as in the verbs, or as the *Nun demonstrative* of the pronoun, the so-called *Nun epenthetic*. Comp. Ewald on the חברנם of the Marseilles inscription, Jahrbb. der bibl. Wiss. p. 201.

וישרדנם *and let them terrify them.* שָׂרַד i. q. Syr. ܫܪܕ *to fear;* Pah., *to terrify.*

האלנם *the gods.* The Phœn. אלן appears to be the Arab. إِلٰه *ilahon* with the *He* elided. We have here a gratifying confirmation of the genuineness of the Plautinian Punic text, this being clearly the *alonim* of the Pœnulus, on which the scholiast Sisenna remarks, "*alon* linguâ Punicâ esse deum;" although nearly all interpreters have agreed in transcribing it עלונים or עליונים i. e. *most high ones, superi.* Comp. *Abdalonimus* (עבד אלנם) the name of a king of Sidon under Alexander the Great (Justin XI, 10). This word occurs again in lines 16 and 22, and in the singular in l. 18.

ראש משל *a ruling head*, i. e. *chief, prince;* comp. אִישׁ מוֹשֵׁל, 2 Chron. 7, 18.

בנמל *with cutting off, abscission.* Used to give emphasis to the following verb.

קצחנם *cutting them off* (shall be). Infin. of קָצָה or קָצַץ with נ demonstr. and suff., the verb governing the suffix and the following nouns in the accusative. I at first assumed here a root קצת, and supposed the pret. to be used emphatically for the future.

Line 10.

אדם הא *that man;* and with a fem. noun, ממלת הא *that thing* (l. 11), ממלכת הא *that kingdom* (l. 22). We have here the primitive demonstrative הָא (see Hupfeld in Zeitschr. f. K. d. Morgenl. II, 147), which Gesenius finds in the fourth line of the Sardinian inscription. Its plural אֵל, which occurs several times in the Pentateuch, appears in the expression אל אלנם הקדשם *those holy gods* (l. 22).

Line 11.

חלתי. So in the MS. copy of the inscription. The lithograph edition has חנתי.

נאית. If it be correct to read this as a proper name, it is probably that of the goddess *Neith* (*Νῆϑ*), the Egyptian Athene worshipped at Saïs. (See Plat. Tim., quoted by Parthey in his Vocab. Copt. p. 567, and Plut. Isis et Osiris, cap. 9). The Egyptian orthography of the name was or or , i. e. NeT (Is. et Osir., Parthey's edit., p. 176). Gesenius thinks that he finds the name in certain Athenian and Carthaginian inscriptions under the form תנת *Tanith* or *ta-Neith*, the first letter being the article, and that consequently *Νῆϑ*, *Ταναΐτις*, and *Ἀναΐτις* are but different forms of the same name (see Monn. Phœn. pp. 115–118, 171, 172); but this is left for others to decide.

ידע. Whether we regard this as a pret., fut., or part., it is of the masc. form; so that the gender of the preceding noun (supposing it to be feminine) is neglected. Comp. Ges. Monn. Phœn. p. 216, and Blau in Ztschr. der D. M. G. p. 442.

ממלת appears to be i. q. Syr. , Chald. מִמְלַל, used like מִלָּה in the sense of *thing*.

מהמת *that slayeth*, part. Hiph. of מוּת *to die*, with the preformative ה retained. Judas considers that he has found this form of the Hiphil in the fut. יהעדך (Étude Démonstr. p. 135). The word מהמת occurs also with האדם in line 22. This phrase האדם מהמת occurs in line 17 of the Marseilles inscription, which unfortunately is a broken one, so that the sense is left doubtful. Various explanations of the word מהמת are proposed by Movers and Ewald; but neither of them would suit the context of our inscription.

לם *to them*. The change from the singular to the plural and vice versâ in propositions of a general nature, where the subject is indeterminate and may be regarded at the will of the writer as consisting of one or many, is so common in Hebrew that we feel no surprise at meeting with it here.

שב *dwelling*. Supposed to be formed by apocope from יָשַׁב.

טוב דן מעלות *good is the judgment from on high*, i. e. from the places above, the sky, heaven, עלות being a fem. used as a neuter. The allusion is to the punishments decreed and executed by Heaven against the wicked for their misdeeds. We might also read מעלות אד *from above the sky*, taking אד as i. q. Heb. אֵד *vapor*, and hence *cloud, sky;* like Heb. שַׁחַק, *dust, cloud*, and then *sky, heaven*, as in Ps. 89, 7. 38. It must be remarked however that the MS. copy of the inscription, which in general appears to be the most entitled to confidence, has דל instead of דן.

Line 12.

אד *behold*, like Arab. إِنْ. The same word seems to have stood in line 17, although the א has disappeared.

בחים *in life*, or *among the living*, an expression found in several inscriptions of Athens and Citium (see Ges. Monn. Phœn. p. 349 *b*).

כאנך נחן *as I was resting* (sleeping?). נחן act. part. of נוח with suff. 1 pers. sing. in the Aramæan manner (Hoffm. Gr. Syr. p. 177), which is also used in the Syriac with a preceding pronoun (Hoffm. p. 345).

Line 14.

אמעשתרת *Emashtoreth* (i. e. mother of Astarte). In line 3 of the Oxford inscription we have also the name of a woman אמתעשתרת *Amatashtoreth* (handmaid of Astarte).

Line 15.

כהנת *priestess*. The masc. כהן *priest* and כהנם *priests* occur repeatedly in the Marseilles inscription. Movers shows (Die Phœnizier, III, 512 sq. 547 sq.) that Astarte was the highest national goddess of the Sidonians, and especially of their ruling race: so that the high priest of the goddess was *the* high priest of the land, and the office was the prerogative of the metropolis and was filled by the nearest relative of the king.

רבתן *our lady*. The term רבת is found repeatedly in inscriptions applied both to deities and to mortals. See Blau in Ztschr. der D. M. G. III, 484.

Line 16.

בת דן *temple of justice*. It would appear that among the Phœnicians the temple of worship was used also as a hall of justice, as among the Hebrews, whose בית דין הגדול or *great court of justice* was held in the temple at Jerusalem.

אדת. Supposed to be i. q. Heb. אודות, and to mean *around, about, by*. I at first read בת דנא בת ים *a temple of justice, a temple of the sea*, i. e. by the sea.

איתד. Supposed to be i. q. Heb. יתד *peg*, and then used figuratively, as in Heb. and Arab., in the sense of *support*. See Rosenmüller on Zech. 10, 4, where it stands parallel with פנה *corner-stone*. As for the א prosth., comp. איד (l. 3, 13) i. q. Heb. יד.

שתרת *stars*. We may suppose this word to be chosen by way of allusion to the meaning of the name עשתרת.

מאדרם *magnified, honored, worshipped;* part. Pual of אדר. The Piel part. occurs in the following line.

ואנחן. Here we are presented for the first time with the Phœn. pron. of the 1st pers. plur., which agrees in its termination with the frequently occurring suffix ן. It is used in the nominative absolute both here and in the following line.

Line 17.

בת לאמם *a temple of the peoples.* לְאֻמִּים plur. of לְאֹם, in Hebrew a poetical term. The meaning seems to be that this is a temple to which the nations should come to worship (comp. 1 Kings 8, 41–43). Blau thinks that he has found this same noun in the third line of the Eryx inscription in a contracted form in the word לְלַמָּהּ *to her people* (Ztschr. der D. M. G. III, 441).

ידלל. From דָּלַל *to be thin, slight, small;* like Syr. ܕܠ.

בהד *thereby.* הד is here taken to be i. q. Chald. דְּדָא, Heb. הַזֶּה. Buxtorf shows (Lex. Chald. col. 489) that דְּדָא corresponds in the Targum to the Heb. זֹאת, which is used absolutely without reference to any particular noun. The meaning will then be that those who worship in this temple shall in consequence receive pardon for their sins. Comp. 1 Kings 8, 30–53.

Line 18.

ארץ ים *the land of the sea,* i. e. lying on the sea-coast.

בעל צדן lit. *the Lord of Sidon;* like בעל צר *the Lord of Tyre,* in the first Maltese inscription.

בת לעשתרת *a temple to Ashtoreth.* According to Movers (Die Phœnizier I, 602, 605) a large temple of Astarte in Sidon is spoken of both by Achilles Tatius and by Lucian.

שם בעל *the glory* (lit. *name, renown*) *of Baal.* Baal is the sun, or king of the heavens, and Astarte the moon, or queen of the heavens; hence it appears she is called his *glory,* his bright and beautiful counterpart.

ארן מלכם *Lord Milcom.* So ארן בעל חמן *Lord Baal Hamman,* Numid. inscrr. 1–3. *Milcom,* or *Moloch,* in his character of the Phœnician Mars, is here said to have given the Sidonians their city; meaning that they had obtained it originally, or (which is more probable) that they had recently regained it, from other possessors by force of arms.

Line 19.

דאר *desire,* i. q. Heb. דּוֹר. If the context would permit, we might read דאר (in the O. Test. also written דּוֹר) *Dora,* the southernmost town of the Phœnicians; and so we might find in this and the following line the names מרת *Marathus* and גבל *Gebal.*

ויפי ארץ *and beauty of the earth.* So the Tyrians applied to their city the appellation כְּלִילַת יֹפִי *perfect in beauty,* or *perfectly beautiful,* Ezek. 27, 3; comp. 27, 4. 11. 28, 12. 17.

תרגן האדרת *our glorious delight.* We regard תרג as an abstract noun formed, by prefixing ת, from the Aramaic root רגג, and corresponding to the Heb. חֶמְדָּה lit. *desire, delight;* comp. the phrase אֶרֶץ חֶמְדָּה. Michaelis quotes the phrase ܣܦܝܢ ܘܬܪܓܝܢ *pulchra et splendida ædificia* (Lex. Syr. p. 847). If the context permitted, we might translate *Tarragon the great.*

אש בשב שַׁדַּן *which is in the dwelling of our deity,* i. e. which is situated in the land of Phœnicia, the peculiar dwelling-place of the national god מַלְכָּה or מִלְכֹּם. The MS. copy has בשד or בשר.

למדת עצמת *to stretch out* (or *stretching out*) *the fortresses,* i. e. enabling us to erect the long line of fortifications.

אש פעלת *which I have made,* i. e. reared, constructed. So the MS. copy. The form of the third letter in the lithograph edition would allow us to read אש בעלת *of which thou art Lord;* but the sense is not so good.

ויספנם *and they have constructed them,* the plur. used impersonally, i. q. *they have been constructed.* סָפַן *to cover with boards,* and hence *to build, construct.*

Line 20.

עלת *on, upon.* Either a fem. sing. or plur. abstract noun, lit. *top,* used as a preposition. See on מעלות l. 12.

גבל *border, boundary,* Heb. גְּבוּל.

לכנן *to set firm, establish, strengthen,* Polel infin. of כּוּן. The deceased king claims not only to have assisted in erecting temples to secure to his people the favor of their gods, but also to have constructed fortresses to defend them against the assaults of their human enemies.

Line 21.

ואל יעד *and let him not remove.* יַעַד fut. apoc. Hiph. of עָדָה.

לם *as for them,* used absolutely. See Ges. Lex. under ל 14. *c.*

יסגדנם *shall humble them;* taking the verb as the Piel or Hiphil of סָגַד *to fall down, to prostrate oneself.* Comp. הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה. I at first read יסרדנם, as in line 9, supposing that the copyist had omitted a portion of the third letter, which made it resemble a ג; but as the reading of the MS. copy supports that of the lithograph, it is safer to yield to their joint authority.

Line 22.

ויקצנה ממלכת הא *and they shall cut it off, that kingdom.* This pleonastic use of the pronominal suffix before the noun forming the object of a verb is found in Hebrew (Nord. Heb. Gram. II, 109).

CONCLUSION.

The reader who has perused the foregoing attempt at explaining the inscription will scarcely need to be reminded that in it some things are certain, others doubtful, and others little better than guesses. Error and imperfection are the usual fate of first essays of the sort; but a beginning must be made, and it will be comparatively easy for minds coming fresh to the subject and applied directly to the doubtful passages to make a nearer approximation to the truth.

Dr. Movers (Art. *Phönizien* in Ersch. u. Gruber's Encyklopædie, p. 425) divides Phœnician inscriptions, as respects the forms of their letters, their language, and their age, into two classes. The older, to which belong those of Marseilles, Carthage, Citium, Malta, Athens, and most of the coins of Phœnicia and the neighboring regions to the north, exhibit the old Phœnician type of letters, a regular orthography, and a language still free from foreign influences and later degeneracies. These advantages, especially the graphic ones, are found in their greatest completeness in the inscription of Marseilles, which is demonstrably the oldest, belonging to the first half of the 4th century B. C., while the monuments of northern Phœnicia and Cilicia belong to the latter half of this century. The second class of monuments proceed from times and regions where the culture and the language of the Phœnicians were considerably affected by foreign elements: these are the so-called Numidian inscriptions, and also those found in Sardinia and in other Liby-Phœnician countries, together with the Punic coins, which belong to the Liby-Phœnician cities on the coast of Africa, to the islands of Cossura and Ivica, and to several Turditanian cities. In this latter class both the form of the letters and the orthography are equally degenerate. There is hardly one of these numerous inscriptions that does not present doubtful characters, and the guttural and vowel letters are confounded in them in a manner without parallel in the Shemitish languages.

It is to the former class, as was to be expected, that our inscription belongs. Its interest is greater both on this account and as being the first inscription properly so-called that has yet been found in Phœnicia proper, which had previously furnished only some coins and an inscribed gem. It is also the longest inscription hitherto discovered, that of Marseilles—which approaches it the nearest in the form of its characters, the purity of its language, and its extent—consisting of but 21 lines and fragments of lines.

The corrupt orthography and style of many of the inscriptions found in Africa and elsewhere which first attracted the attention of scholars, together with the inaccurate manner in which they were copied, and which enhanced the difficulty of reading them correctly,

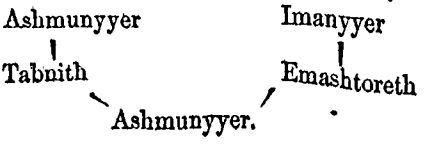
naturally caused the Phœnician language to be regarded as differing much more widely from the Hebrew than it does in reality; but the inscription before us confirms the opinion held since the discovery of that of Marseilles, that the Phœnician language in its purity, besides a slight tinge of Aramaism, differs but little from the Biblical Hebrew. This is a gratifying discovery for two reasons: first, because it facilitates the correct reading and interpretation of the inscriptions themselves, and secondly because each document in it that is brought to light will prove a direct contribution towards elucidating the language of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The forms of the letters in the Sidon inscription and that of Marseilles are very similar, the principal difference being that, as a general rule, the characters of the former have a slightly more rounded and consequently less antique contour. The *'Ain*, however, of the former is always a complete circle; whereas in the latter it has the modern characteristic of an opening at the top. In the Sidon inscription the *Yod* runs through many different forms, from the oldest to the most recent; and the forms of ד and ר, to which is sometimes to be added ב (which in that of Marseilles are accurately distinguished) are utterly confounded together, so that there is no distinction that holds between them, either in the form of the head, the degree of inclination from the perpendicular, or the length of the stem. Our copies of it are certainly much better executed than those of the generality of the inscriptions we possess; yet under the circumstances nothing but a plaster cast or other fac-simile can be regarded as a satisfactory basis for a final interpretation of the monument.

The orthography of this as of other Phœnician inscriptions is characterized by a more systematic omission of the *matres lectionis* than is found even in the oldest Hebrew writings.

As for the language of the inscription it bears marks of antiquity which are obsolescent in the Biblical Hebrew: such as the use in plain prose of primitive words which in Hebrew are found not at all or only as poetical archaisms; the retention of the fem. afformative ת, of the ן of the plural of verbs, and perhaps of the ה preformative of the Hiphil; the non-employment of the definite article in repeated instances where it would be used in Hebrew, &c.

As a contribution to Phœnician history we have the names of the defunct ruler and his ancestors to the third degree both on the paternal and maternal side, thus:



Not only the father and paternal grandfather of the deceased king are said to have been *kings of Sidon*, but also his maternal grandfather. What was the order of succession between them, or indeed where they are to be placed at all, we have not the means of deciding; but the ancient form of the characters and the purity of the language of the inscription (as far as it can be made out with certainty), with the fact that Sidon appears to have been ruled by native independent sovereigns (though their independence may be questioned), induce us to place it before the conquest of Alexander, namely as early as the middle of the 4th century B. C.

It however by no means follows that because we are now without the means of answering these questions definitively, we shall always remain so. The fondness of the Phœnicians for commemorating in this durable manner public and private events, the fact that no systematic exploration of the sites of towns in Phœnicia and most of her colonies has ever been undertaken, the extensive ruins that are known to exist (above all those of Tyre herself), and the number of educated men now in northern Africa and the Levant, lead naturally to the hope and expectation that many more extensive and more interesting monuments of this people will ere long be discovered than have yet been brought to light.

VIII. Extracts from Correspondence.

1. *From a Letter from Rev. D. T. Stoddard, of Orûmiah.*

Seir, Oroomiah, Jan. 16, 1854.

Since writing you, I have made a pretty thorough examination of the Jews' language, as spoken in this vicinity, and have now the materials for drawing up a paper on that subject. When you see Dr. Robinson, will you be good enough to consult with him as to the question whether it is worth while to give the details of that language, or only a few outlines of the grammar.

. . . . . .

When I shall get time to attend to the subject again is quite uncertain. Our missionary labors demand most of our strength and thoughts.

2. *From a Letter from Rev. D. B. McCartee, M. D., of Ningpo.*

Ningpo, Feb. 6, 1854.

I had the honor, about a fortnight since, to forward to your care, by ship, an impression of the "so-called Syrian monument" referred to by my respected friend the Rev. E. C. Bridgman, D. D., and concerning which certain inquiries were addressed last year by the Oriental Society to missionaries in China. The existence of such a monument will not, I am sure, be doubted, when one knows that it is well known to Chinese amateurs in calligraphy, and that copies, or rather impressions taken from the stone by a species of lithography peculiar to the Chinese, are in ordinary times easily to be obtained from dealers in copy-books, which are always printed by this method of lithography. Owing to the disturbed state of the empire at the present time, and the distance of Si-ngan-fu in the province of Shen-si, from this place, the visits of these travelling dealers in inscriptions, etc., have been almost entirely prevented, and it was only after some search and negotiation that I at length succeeded in obtaining two copies from a Chinese gentleman, who had sent them to a shop in this city, for the purpose of having them cut into strips and mounted for binding into books. This has caused the long delay in my answer to the circular of the Society addressed to the Mission of which I am a member.

On the question as to whether the monument referred to is really to be attributed to the Syrian or Nestorian Christians who had missions in China at the time when the inscription professes to have been executed, viz. A. D. 635, very much has been already written, as may be seen by reference to the Chinese Repository, vol. xiv. page 201, and the Land of Sinim, by the Rev. W. M. Lowrie, pp. 37–42. I shall therefore be very brief in what I have to communicate on the subject. In the first place, the impressions sold (one of which I sent), and the testimony of the Chinese, would show conclusively that such a monument is now in existence, even were we to reject the testimony of the early Roman Catholic missionaries, quoted by Kircher and others. Secondly, it was evidently not got up by the Chinese, as they would have no object in trying to impose it as a monument of antiquity upon others; moreover, it uses terms and speaks of doctrines with which even those Chinese who are familiar with the inscription as a specimen of fine writing are unacquainted, and which they cannot explain; and finally, the Syriac characters which compose part of the inscription seem conclusive. These characters are mistaken by the Chinese for Man-chu or Mongolian characters, which indeed they somewhat resemble (being written vertically, instead of horizontally), although the monument dates back to a

period long anterior to the invasion of the Mongols who established the Yuen dynasty (A. D. 1280). Thirdly, its antiquity, the religious terms employed, the Syriac letters, and the admissions of the Jesuit missionaries themselves, forbid the idea that it was invented by them, and indeed it is hard to see how any one would believe them guilty of a fraud to commemorate the labors of a sect who had anticipated them in China, and had been condemned and anathematized by the Roman Church as heretical. I cannot therefore resist the conviction that the monument in question does really exist in the province of Shen-sī, and that it is the work of the Nestorian or Syrian Christians, whose churches and converts still survived in no inconsiderable numbers in the time of the celebrated Venetian traveller Marco Polo.

Accompanying the impression from the Syrian monument, I sent also a copy of another and more modern specimen of Chinese lithography, viz., a sheet containing a Chinese native tract, which by a species of pious fraud is attributed to the philosopher Láu-tsz', the founder of the sect of Táu or Reason. This is one of the most celebrated religious tracts of the Chinese. To cause it to be printed, distributed, or read to or by the people, is considered an act of great merit, capable of atoning for a multitude of sins. The accompanying impression is a fac-simile of the hand-writing of the famous Commissioner Lin, who was so energetic in his endeavors to put down the opium-traffic, and in his warlike measures against the English. It is a very beautiful specimen of fine writing, and was engraved from the original in the following manner. The paper having been laid upon the stone (previously sized with a thin coat of paste), with the blank side toward the stone and the letters uppermost, was then smoothly and evenly applied by means of a hard brush or broom (made of the fibres of the Chinese hemp-palm, *Chamerops Excelsa*). When dry and firmly attached, the letters were carefully cut into the stone by a seal-engraver, the operation differing from the ordinary method in the letters being sunk instead of raised, and not reversed. This allows the engraver to follow very exactly the strokes, etc., of the writer, executing in fact a very accurate fac-simile. In printing from the stone, the paper slightly damped is first laid upon the stone, and smoothly applied by means of the hard brush. The operator then taking a strip of felt in one hand, and a small wooden hammer in the other, goes over the stone, applying the felt to each part successively, and hammering upon it briskly all the time. The paper is thus driven into the depressions or sunken strokes of the characters, while in the blank spaces it presents a smooth and even surface. The ink (commonly called in the U. States India-ink) being rubbed with water to the proper consistence, the operater next proceeds to apply it by drawing or "wip-

ing" over the paper a brush made of strips of felt, rolled into the form of a surgeon's roller (or bandage), ground smooth on one end. Finally, a polish is given to the surface by striking on the ink with a ball resembling those formerly used by printers in the U. States and elsewhere, before the invention of elastic rollers. The operation is done very skillfully, and is decidedly the most beautiful method of printing practised by the Chinese. The stone used is of a very fine grain and homogeneous structure, and gives out a clear ringing sound upon being struck. The color of those that I have seen has been, of some, greyish, and of others, almost black.

Lest by any accident the copies I sent last month should fail to reach the Society, I take the opportunity to send duplicates.

It will be seen that the Chinese have only taken an impression of such parts [of the monument] as were in Chinese characters, omitting the cross, etc., and also the names of the priests, etc., mentioned by Kircher. There are however two rows of Syriac letters in the copies sent, one on each side of the Chinese, and near the bottom; which being in a line with the Chinese name of the author of the inscription and of the copyist, could not be omitted, and were therefore preserved.* It is also to be observed that in the Chinese Repository it is said that there are 26 characters in a column, which is an evident typographical error for 62.

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3. *From a Letter from Rev. A. H. Wright, M.D., of Orûmiah.*

Oroomiah, July 22, 1854.

A few days ago, I returned from a journey across the mountains of Koordistan. . . . . On the way, both in going and returning, I visited that celebrated pillar, with cuneiform inscriptions, on the top of the mountain between Ooshnu and Ravandooz. The stone is about 2 yards long, 2 feet wide, and 1 foot thick, and is of a dark green color. Hence its name in Koordish, *Kel-e-Sheen*, green stone. It stands in an upright position, one end being inserted in a large square stone, partly in the ground, and cut for the purpose. It faces E. S. E. Both sides are covered with inscriptions, the most distinct being on the southern face. I counted 40 lines on one side, and 42 on the other. My Koordish guides would not allow me to examine this interesting relic of a former age but a few minutes, apprehending an attack of robbers, who infest that locality.

I visited another stone with similar inscriptions near the village of Sidek, five or six hours South-West of the one above named. It is

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* These Syriac lines, containing the date, are precisely the same as given by Kircher on the sides of his plate. The characters are evidently Estranghelo.
E. E. S.

of smaller dimensions than the other, and is of a dark grey color. It faces in the same direction. Dr. Grant supposed there were inscriptions only on the South-East face of the stone, but it is my impression that they existed originally on both sides, and that they have been defaced from the northern side by the ravages of time. I thought that I discovered traces of the letters on that side, though, as I passed the spot at the early dawn, I ought not to be very confident. The stone appeared to be of a softer texture than the one on the top of the mountain. These ancient relics carried me back in thought thousands of years, and I felt an inexpressible desire to read the lesson of history written upon them. An impression of *Kel-e-Sheen* was taken two years ago by a learned Russian gentleman, Mr. Khanikoff of Tiflis, now acting Consul at Tabreez, on porous paper. This is now in the hands of Col. Rawlinson of Bagdad, who, it is hoped, will be able to decipher its meaning.

P. S.—*Kel* is used in Koordish for a *stone set up on end*, as in a grave-yard. Hence Kel-e-Sheen means a *green upright stone*.

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4. *From Letters from Rev. L. Grout, S. Africa.*

Umsunduzi, May 27, 1854.

From the S. African Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Bible Society I have just received (as member of the Zulu Grammar and Dictionary Commission), through the local Government, a copy of the following queries respecting the difference between the Kafir and Zulu dialects, etc., with a view to their ascertaining what means can be devised for assisting the missionaries of different Societies in the work of translating and circulating the Scriptures among the natives of S. Africa.

"1. Is there that degree of affinity between the Kafir and Zulu, as would warrant the hope that one standard version of the Scriptures, with occasional dialectic variations, either to be introduced into the text of two separate editions (one for the Kafirs and the other for the Zulus), or to be inserted in the margin of one edition, would meet both languages or dialects?"

. . . . . .

The preparation of a Zulu grammar, which I still have in hand, progresses slowly, partly from sickness of late in my family, and partly from want of assurance, as yet, from Government, that they will provide the means for printing both that and the dictionary.

. . . . . .

But I design to go on with the preparation of the grammar to the best of my time and ability; and I make the above remarks

partly to open the way for inquiring of you whether there is, probably, in your Society (A. O. S.), or in any other in our country, as the Smithsonian Institution, or elsewhere, any such interest in such a thing as a Zulu grammar, as would induce them to publish one at their own expense, if properly prepared and offered?

Umsunduzi, Sept. 12, 1854.

I wrote you last May, among other things, in respect to a circular from the S. Afr. Aux. Bible Soc., naming, I think, the queries then proposed. After examining the subject, and discussing it with my brethren of the Mission, and of the Zulu Grammar and Dictionary Commission, our conclusion was that the plan of a uniform version of the Scriptures for the Kafir and Zulu dialects is not, at present, practicable.

In comparing a late edition of the Psalms in Kafir with our late edition in Zulu, I found, on an average, one principal or notional word to a verse in Kafir, not known in Zulu, or else known in a sense quite different from what it has in Kafir, as appears from the translation. I also found, further, that about half the essential or notional words actually used in the two editions—the Kafir and Zulu—differ, while the other half are the same: that is, when the best words are taken in the two dialects, respectively, about one half are naturally the same, and the other half different.

I see by the last papers that a meeting—"Alphabetical Conference"—has been held in England, at the house of Chev. Bunsen, to "devise a uniform system of expressing foreign alphabets by Roman characters." I shall be interested to know the result. A uniform version can never be had in the Zulu and Kafir, without a uniform alphabet; but the latter may be had, and would be of much service, without the former.

5. *From a Letter from Rev. A. Bushnell, in Equatorial Africa.*

Nĕngenĕnge Olombo Mpolo, July 26, 1854.

I have commenced a new station on a small island at the junction of the Nkâmâ and Bâkwĕ, the two head-streams of the Gaboon, about seventy-five miles from its mouth. There is but one town, with a small population, on the island; but within ten miles there are more than thirty towns, inhabited by people of three different tribes, viz: Shĕkanies, Bakĕlĕs and Pangwes. These tribes have descended from the interior one after another, as they are named. The Shĕkanies followed the Mpongwes, and rank next to them in civilization

and influence. The Bakĕlĕs followed the Shĕkanies, and are a grade behind them; and after them come the Pangwes, who have but recently appeared. They are a very numerous and warlike people, independent and fearless, and a terror to their more civilized neighbors, with whom they are beginning to mingle. They are larger in stature, and better formed, and of a shade lighter complexion, than the other tribes. They wear but little clothing, but cover their persons with a preparation of powdered red-wood and oil, which gives them the appearance of red men at a short distance. They manufacture, from their native ore, beautiful and well-tempered instruments, such as knives, daggers, or two-edged swords, and spears; and in war they use them with great dexterity. They also use the cross-bow and poisoned arrows. They are cannibals, but their appetite for human flesh and blood is only gratified on prisoners taken or killed in war, and persons accused of some crime. Their ideas of spiritual things nearly resemble those of the other tribes, being exceedingly gross and indefinite. Superstition seems to be a part of their mental constitution. They manufacture and wear on their persons numerous charms, or fetiches, as a protection from evil, and to secure them earthly good; but none of them have any reference to the soul, or to a future state.

. . . . . .

Respecting their [the Pangwes] language, I can state nothing definite. It differs materially from the other dialects used nearer the sea, but, having a knowledge of them, we think it may be acquired readily. At no distant day I hope to forward you specimens of it.

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6. *From Letters from Rev. Dr. J. Perkins, of Orúmiah.*

Oroomiah, March 9, 1854.

You may be aware that, a few years ago, the king of Persia built a college, the edifices costing about one hundred thousand dollars, to be furnished with European professors. Of the six or seven German professors connected with it, two have recently died—another loss to the cause of science and civilization in Persia. This college has made a very hopeful beginning in the work of introducing European light into this country. While the practical sciences occupy a prominent place in its course of study, it also does much for the advancement of literature and general intelligence.

Oroomiah, July 28, 1854.

In the paucity of other matter to communicate, and to assure you of my continued interest in your Society, I send you below an extract

from a letter which I recently received from Mr. Loftus, of whose labors, among the Assyrian and Babylonian remains, you are of course always glad to hear. The letter is dated Mosul, June 10, 1854.

. . . . . .

"I have just returned from an expedition to Lower Chaldea, where I have again visited Warka and the 'Ur of the Chaldees,' as well as various adjoining mounds. The results are interesting, as records have been obtained as early as the time of Abraham, or about 2000 B. C.

"This evening, I float down the Tigris to Nimroud, where we have just discovered the first inscribed and sculptured slabs of the palace of Phul of Scripture—the husband of the once almost fabulous Semiramis.

"Enclosed I send a circular of the Society, which may be interesting to you and your circle."

. . . . . .

I enclose the circular which Mr. Loftus sent to me, and which possibly may not reach you from any other source.

[From this circular of the Society for Exploring the Ruins of Assyria and Babylonia, we make the following extracts.

COMM. OF PUBL.]

"It would appear, from a statement by Mr. Layard, that, since the publication of his second work, remains have been found of a much earlier period than any previously taken from the Assyrian mounds. From one inscription it would even seem that temples existed of the 19th or 20th century before Christ, ascending almost to the earliest known Egyptian period. The annals of those Assyrian kings who are mentioned in Scripture, and who are closely connected with the Jewish people, have not yet been fully completed, and the chronicles of the wars with Samaria and of the destruction of that city are, as yet, unfortunately not entire, although reference to them has been met with on several fragments. . . . . .

"Besides the ruins of Assyria, enormous remains exist in Babylonia which have scarcely been visited by Europeans, and which there is every reason to conclude contain objects of the very highest interest. . . . . .

"A photographist will accompany the Expedition, and will take copies of all objects of interest discovered. In England facsimiles of all the drawings and inscriptions will be issued, as often as they come to hand, together with explanatory letter-press, the publication of which Mr. Layard has kindly undertaken to superintend.

"It will be less the object of the Expedition to obtain bulky sculptures than to collect materials for completing the history of Assyria and Babylonia, especially as connected with Scripture. These mate-

rials consist chiefly of inscribed tablets in stone and in clay, bronzes, bricks and sculptured monuments of various kinds, all illustrating the remarkable advancement of that ancient civilization. It is confidently believed that the whole history of Assyria may be restored to a very early period, and that discoveries of the most important character will be made in connection with the literature and science of the Assyrian people."

Oroomiah, March 8, 1855.

. . . . . .

Dr. Wright, whose missionary duties lie more directly with the Mohammedans of Persia than my own, is prosecuting inquiries respecting the Royal College at Tehran, and Persian schools there and elsewhere; and he will be happy to write you on these subjects, when he shall have obtained the information desired. Such matters are not to be accomplished with rail-road, nor electro-magnetic, speed, in this truly oriental land.

. . . . . .

I have just received a letter from Dr. Lobdell, of Mosul, who recently visited Baghdad. In the absence of more interesting matter, I will take the liberty to send you brief extracts from his letter. The letter is dated Baghdad, Jan. 18, 1855, in which he says: "I take pleasure in making application to you, in behalf of Prof. Petermann, of the University of Berlin, for any historical Nestorian or Armenian MSS. (or translations in these languages from the Greek, or other tongues), which it may be in your power to procure at Oroomiah. . . . . He has been in the South of Persia the last summer, with Mr. Brühl, going from Bushire to Shiraz, Isfahan, Hamadan and Yezd, and has procured some scores of MSS., a large lot of Parthian and Sassanian coins, and some two hundred cylinders and seals—a part of them bearing fine Babylonian inscriptions. He will return to Europe, viâ Aleppo, in the spring.

. . . . . .

7. *From Letters from the late Rev. H. Lobdell, M.D., of Mosûl.*

Mosûl, Mesopotamia, Sept. 25, 1854.

It gives me pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 20th, informing me of my election as a corresponding member of the Oriental Society. It will be my endeavor to furnish for your Journal an occasional communication.

I have but just finished an account of my tour in Kurdistân, viâ Arbeel, to the monument of Kel-i-sheen, which will probably be longer in reaching you than this letter, as it will go from Constantinople by ship.

If Prof. Gibbs has shown you my letter to him of January last,* you are aware that the excavations in Koyunjik were prosecuted vigorously, and with much success, at the beginning of the year. It is hardly necessary that I should enter into further details in regard to the palace discovered by Col. Rawlinson's agent, as he has given some account of the discoveries to the Trustees of the British Museum, and a few extracts have appeared in the first Report of the Excavation Fund of the Assyrian Society, which, I doubt not, you have seen. Mr. Wm. Kennett Loftus, the superintendent of excavations for that Society, has this morning shown me some sixty drawings which he will send by to-day's post, through Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, to London. They embrace views of most of the discoveries made by him at and near Werka, an immense mound about three days below Baghdad, formerly supposed, by Rawlinson and some others, to be the site of Ur of the Chaldees. A cylinder recently found by Mr. Taylor, British Vice-Consul at Busrah, at Mugeir, a mound twenty-five miles West of the Euphrates, having on it the name *Hûr*, has shaken the faith of these antiquarians in regard to the site of Ur; and it seems, indeed, to upset many previous speculations about the ruins in that quarter. It remains to be seen, however, whether the cylinder has been correctly interpreted!

The walls of little cones, the sarcophagi and their contents, rings, beads, neck and head ornaments, the bricks inscribed with cuneiform characters, the Egyptian relics from a mound called Phara, and the views of the ruins, are of great interest, as the mounds in that part of Babylonia have been, as yet, but very imperfectly explored. While some of the remains are evidently Sassanian, Mr. Loftus is confident of the very extreme antiquity of others. That some of the inscriptions are of the most primitive Babylonian character, is plain to any one who has compared the writings of different eras.

The remainder of the drawings, which I have mentioned, are mostly photographic and crayon sketches of slabs in the palace of Asr-akh-pul, the son of Esarhaddon, at Koyunjik, which were not copied by the artist of the British Museum, in consequence of sickness which necessitated his return to England.

Mr. Loftus has found several more rooms in what is now called the North palace, and a few of the present drawings represent the character of the sculptures on their walls. A few of the slabs are most exquisitely finished; the figures have a bolder relief than any hitherto discovered. The good and evil geniuses, the monstrous combinations of man, eagle and lion, at the doorways, are not less interesting than the lion-hunt in boats, the chase of ibexes and wild asses by archers and spearmen on high-spirited steeds, and by the king in

* Published in this Journal, vol. iv. no. 2, pp. 472, ff.

his chariot, the siege and capture of a town with sable inhabitants (thought by Mr. L. to be Abyssinians), the ornamented pavements, the immense brick wall, fourteen feet thick, around the palace, and the subterranean construction of the apartments, which forcibly suggests the idea of its correspondence with the *serdâb*, or modern summer retreat, of the people of Mosûl and Baghdad.

It was the intention of Mr. Loftus to proceed to Susa the coming winter, but his great success here—and, I may add, at Nimroud, where several statues, one of them bearing a peculiar cuneiform inscription said to glorify Semiramis, have recently been exhumed—will probably induce him to remain.

The Assyrian Society and the British Museum present now the aspect of rivals, instead of mutual assistants, though it is hardly to be doubted that all the objects discovered by both will eventually form one great collection.

As I have seen in some American papers and periodicals the statement that Col. Rawlinson professes to have found evidence, in his researches, affecting the authenticity of the Hebrew Scriptures, I take the liberty of transcribing a few words from a letter which I have recently received from him.

He says: "The Assyrian and Babylonian records confirm in the most satisfactory manner all the genuine portions of Scripture history, while at the same time they afford positive evidence that the book of Daniel is not genuine—that, in fact, it should have been left by the Christian Church in the Hagiographa, where, as you know, it has been ever held by the Jews."

I leave you to infer his opinion about the question what are the genuine portions of Scripture. Are none of the Hagiographa parts of the Jewish Canon? I suspect the antiquarian has trespassed too far on the province of the Biblical critic.*

Mosûl, Nov. 2, 1854.

Accompanying this letter you will find an article which you are at liberty to use as you may think will be most for the interests of the Oriental Society. As you suggested, in your letter of Nov. 23, 1853, I have given "special prominence" to those parts of the tour, or Observations,† in which I have not been anticipated "by any one of our countrymen." I feel that the paper has assumed an undue length, but it will be easy for the Comm. of Publication to draw a pencil over those parts of it which it may seem to them undesirable to have published.

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* It is lately reported that Rawlinson has found the name of *Belshazzar* in one of his cuneiform inscriptions. E. E. S.

† "Observations on a ride through Kûrdistân, from Mosûl to the Monument of Kel-i-Shîn," is the title of Dr. Lobdell's communication. Extracts from it will appear in our next Number. COMM. OF PUBL.

I know of no work which particularly describes the region from Ooshnoo to Mosûl, except Ainsworth's *Travels in Asia Minor*, which is full of mistakes. I have not, however, spoken very particularly of that part of my route which he passed over. He did not see Kel-i-Shîn, and I was not on his track at all West of the Herîr hills. Rev. Dr. Perkins's route was the same as mine but part of one day, yet his Journal, as published by the Society, was so full that in some points he may seem to discuss the same topics. I have endeavored to make my description of Ravendûz supplementary to his.

. . . . . .

I believe the route from Arbeel to Herîr has never been travelled by any Frank but myself, and it may be that the full report of the relations of the Kûrds and Chaldeans of Sheikh Sana will not be devoid of interest. . . . . .

The table of the Pashas who have governed Mosûl for the last two hundred and seventy years has perhaps more of local than of general interest. About one hundred and fifty years ago, the son of 'Abd el-Jelîl, a Nestorian, became a Moslem, and rose to the dignity of Pasha. The table will show with what difficulty the office was kept in his family till the time of the resolute, but bloody, Mohammed Pasha—a Turk—who subdued the rival parties in the city, and restored order.

. . . . . .

In a small box are enclosed five coins—one of Alexander the Great, one of Philip,* a Pehlavian, a Cufic, and a singular coin which I cannot make out. The long beard seems to be dressed up as carefully as those of the Nineveh sculptures: if within your power, will you please give me a version of the inscription; and also a translation of the Pehlavian, which has a head like Shapur's, and an altar between two priests?† With the coins is a reddish Assyrian cylinder, having a brief inscription upon it; the figure upon the stone is very rare.‡

I should be glad to present these to the Society, but if they have no collection of coins, or stones, you will please accept them yourself.

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* The Seleucide Philip, son of Antiochus VIII. E. E. S.

† The coin which Dr. Lobdell did not make out, belongs to a Parthian king named Bolagasus, as appears by examining it with the aid of Pellerin and Eckhel. It bears the date ΔΞϒ, or 464, to be computed from the era of the Greeks, making it equivalent to A. D. 153. The Pehlvi coin was rightly conjectured by Dr. L. to be the coin of a Sapor. It belongs to Sapor I., and has the legends usually found upon his coins: see, for example, Mordtmann in *Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. viii. p. 36. The Kûfic coin belongs to the Ommeide Khâlif Wâlid Ben 'Abd-el-Malek, as the date, A. H. 90, shows; it was struck at Wâsit. The legends on it are the same as on similar coins, as described, for example, by Marsden in his *Numismata Orientalia*, Pt. i. E. E. S.

‡ Described above, p. 192.

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8. *From a Letter from Rev. E. Webb, of Dindigal, India.*

Dindigal, October 12, 1854.

The American missionaries in Madura, having received from your Society several Numbers of its valuable Journal, have requested me to express their thanks to you for the same, and to assure you of the interest they take in the objects of the Society, and of their entire confidence in its plan and direction.

. . . . . .

It is our desire to render what assistance we may be able. We are none of us, however, familiarly acquainted with more than one of the languages of India, viz. that of the people among whom we labor; and respecting that you have already received much valuable information through our highly esteemed fellow laborer Rev. H. R. Hoisington.

For a few months past, I have been much interested in some researches I am making into the construction of the poetry most frequently used in the Tamil drama. It differs essentially from those forms in which the classical literature of the people is composed. These are all explained, and definite rules for their construction are given, in the native and European grammars of the language. But the lyric poetry, as it may be called, though often extremely rythmical, and elaborate in its construction, has received no attention from Tamil grammarians, and all that can be ascertained about it must be by a careful analysis of the compositions themselves; for though there are many learned men at the present time who compose them, they are utterly unable to explain the principles or rules of their own compositions. The entire Râmâyanam is translated into this kind of poetry, and in this form is sung every where through the country, accompanied at all times with music and dancing.

My attention has also been turned to the vocal music of the Tamil people.

I have been led to examine these subjects from the apparent unsuitableness of European tunes to the Tamil taste, and the inappropriateness of European metres to the Tamil language, for until recently English tunes and metres have been adopted and exclusively used by all Protestant missionaries in the religious worship of their Tamil converts.

A selection of hymns in native metres, set to native tunes, has recently been made and printed by us, which are learned and sung with great pleasure by our Christians. I hope it may be in my power ere long to give you the result of the investigations I have made on these subjects.

. . . . . .

9. *From a Letter from Rev. Dr. E. Smith, of Beirût.*

Bhamdûn, Oct. 12, 1854.

I . . . . was made very sad when I read the . . . sentence in which you intimate an apprehension that I do not feel an interest in your Society. That you should entertain such an apprehension, is not surprising, nor do I blame you for it. But I am pained that you should think of me that which is directly the opposite of what is true, without my having in my power to correct your impressions. . . . . A missionary's calling exposes him to an endless variety of distractions, which, when he becomes an elder member of a Mission, accumulate to an extent which a stranger can hardly conceive of. In the midst of all this, I am endeavoring to carry on a literary work which requires the best energies of a mind free from distraction, in the vigor of life.* Were I to judge from the past, I might well despair of aiding you at all; and yet I am unwilling to give up the hope.

I am sorry to say that last winter our Society† did nothing. The Greeks and Roman Catholics succeeded in exciting a sectarian spirit against it, and each established a rival Society, which drew off our members who belonged to those communions. My own health, too, was more than usually delicate, and forbade my devoting any of my strength to it. In these circumstances we have published no other Number of our Transactions.

. . . . . .

I have had for my nearest neighbor, during the summer, Dr. A. Sprenger, Principal of the Calcutta Medreseh, and Secretary of the Oriental Society of Bengal. He is engaged in making a descriptive catalogue of all the Persian, Arabic and Hindustânî books he can find, and making a bibliographical dictionary. While here, he has examined more than four hundred MSS. in our libraries, including that of our Society. Among them he found a considerable number of rare and curious interest; and some of special interest in reference to the life of Mohammed, which he is also engaged in writing. Some of these MSS. ought to be edited. One, some six hundred years old, which I found in the hands of a Druze, is a most careful philological examination of pieces of ante-islamic poetry, out of the second or third century of the Mohammedan era. Another is a collection of ante-islamic traditions, filled with poetry, and some of the

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* It is well known that Dr. Smith is in the midst of the great work of retranslating the Scriptures into Arabic.

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† See this Journal, vol. iii. p. 477.

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pieces almost worthy to be called epics; at least such was my impression, when I read the book more than twenty years ago. How I should love to take hold of some of these works, if I had not more important matters on hand!

. . . . . .

10. *From a Letter from Rev. F. Mason, Missionary in Burmah.*

Newton Centre, Nov. 30, 1854.

The great divisions of the Buddhist Scriptures in Burmah are the same as in Nepal, as described in your Journal, Vol. i. No. 3, page 275, ff.

The Abhidharma, with us, is a treatise on ontology. The specimen given by you from Burnouf, on page 287, is not from the Abhidharma itself, but from the commentary. I have never read the exact words you give, but they may probably exist in some of the books.

The sacred books exist: (1) in the Pali text; (2) in Pali with a Burmese translation word for word throughout, like the translations we find appended to the modern editions of the Eton Latin Grammar, as: "*est* there is, *pro* for, *habeo* I have;" (3) in commentary on the text, consisting of stories, manifestly of a later date than the text itself, and written by a different hand, or by other hands. I think there have been several, just as we have various commentators on the Bible.

When I left Burmah, I put up the palm-leaf volumes of the Abhidharma No. 2. as above, with a few fragments of No. 3. The Pali text No. 1. I tried in vain to obtain. It is exceedingly difficult to obtain any but the most common books, mainly stories, in Burmah; and as great numbers of palm-leaf books were destroyed and scattered by the . . . English soldiers during the last war, they will be still more scarce hereafter. . . . . .

11. *From a Letter from Prof. C. Lassen, of Bonn.*

Bonn, 20th January, 1855.

. . . . . .

The kind interest you have always taken in my labors, makes me hope that you will be glad to learn that I have finished the Ist Part of the IIId Volume of my Indische Alterthumskunde, the printing of which I hope soon to be able to begin.

Supplementary Bibliographical Notice.

Japanese Botany, being a Facsimile of a Japanese Book, with Introductory Notes and Translations. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia. 72 pp. sm. 4to.

This publication came to hand too late to be noticed in the proper place, but is one of so rare interest that it must not be passed without at least an announcement.

It may be regarded as the first fruits of the late U. States Expedition to Japan, under Commodore Perry. The editor, Dr. Joseph Wilson, Jr., U. S. N., a member of that Expedition, has taken the pains to have reproduced, by the anastatic process of lithography, a botanical work brought by him from Japan, accompanying it with a specimen-translation, and some introductory and explanatory notes. The original work consists of drawings of various flowering plants, which are executed with much taste and truth to nature, and not without regard to perspective, accompanied with descriptions in which the peculiarities of the leaves, flowers and stalks, and the times of blooming, etc., are noted. The reproduction appears to be admirably exact, so that in examining it one seems to have under his eye a genuine Japanese book. The translation, too, has evidently been made with much care, though the translator modestly observes that "it is not supposed that the proper meaning of the elliptical sentences has always been found." Dr. Wilson refers to aid received from native dictionaries, as well as Medhurst's Vocabulary, and a Comparative Vocabulary of the Chinese, Corean and Japanese Languages published at Batavia in 1835.

The work before us is a very valuable illustration of what the anastatic process is capable of in the way of multiplying copies of works which could not be printed among us, or perhaps even in Europe, at present, in the ordinary mode, for want of proper types. In itself considered, too, it will interest the student of natural science who is curious to learn how far the Japanese have advanced in botanical knowledge. But, as regards this latter point, it is to be regretted that Dr. Wilson did not translate the whole. Perhaps he will yet do so, before the stones upon which the transfers were made are appropriated to other uses.

E. E. S.

ERRATA.

Page 9 (note), for "or at the end of a syllable" read "when connected with the preceding; or as a medial, when connected with the preceding and separate from the following letter."
" 193 for "siderian" read "sidereal."
" 228 " "ancient edifice" read "an ancient edifice."
" 231 " אפ read אף.
" 234 " "divinity of the Sidonians" read "gods of the Sidonians."
" " " אשישא read אשישא.

In Vol. iv. No. 2.

Page 343. For "Edward" read "Edmund."
" xvii. Supply the name of John R. Bartlett in the list of Corporate Members.

SELECT MINUTES OF MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

A Semi-Annual Meeting was held in New Haven, on the 18th and 19th of October, 1854. The President of the Society, Rev. Dr. Robinson, in the chair.

The following papers were communicated:

The Alchemy of Happiness by the Arabian Philosopher Mohammed Al-Ghazâly, translated from the Turkish with Notes; by Mr. Henry A. Homes, of the State Library, Albany.

On the Identification of the Site of Ancient Pella, being a portion of a forth-coming new volume of Biblical Researches; by Rev. Dr. Robinson, of New York.

On the Avesta, or the Zoroastrian Scriptures; by Prof. W. D. Whitney, of New Haven.

*On the Armenian Version of the History of Alexander the Great, supplementary to a Paper on the Syrian Version;** by Rev. Pres. Woolsey, of New Haven.

On the Armenian Tradition as to the Resting-Place of Noah's Ark; by Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, Missionary in Turkey. With some remarks upon Mr. Dwight's paper, by Prof. J. W. Gibbs of New Haven.

A Table of Scripture Proper-Names with their Equivalents in Perso-Kurdish, with an accompanying letter on the character of the language of the Assyrian inscriptions; by Rev. H. Lobdell, M. D., Missionary at Mosûl.

On the Alphabetic Representation of the Sandwich Island Languages; by Rev. H. Bingham, of New Haven.

The Corr. Secr. also read extracts from a letter of Chevalier Khanikoff, Russian Consul-General at Tabrîz, to Baron von Humboldt, on the variations of the level of the Caspian Sea.

* See *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* vol. iv. pp. 357, ff.

The subject of a change in the amount of the assessment, annually levied upon members of the Society, being taken up, it was moved by Rev. Pres. Woolsey, seconded, discussed, and unanimously resolved: "That the members of the Society pay henceforth the sum of five dollars annually into its treasury, instead of two dollars as hitherto; and that the amount required to constitute a life-member, be seventy-five dollars."

The condition of the library, and the expediency of its removal from its present place of deposit, having been brought to the notice of the Society by the Corr. Secr., the following resolution was offered by Dr. Beck, debated, and unanimously voted: "That it is the opinion of the meeting now assembled, that a removal of the library of the Society from Boston to New Haven would be, under the present circumstances, expedient and desirable; and that the subject be referred, for further consideration and decision, to the next meeting to be held in Boston."

An Annual Meeting was held in Boston, on the 23d and 24th of May, 1855. The President of the Society in the chair.

Prof. Whitney made a brief report in behalf of the committee on the library; and the subject of the removal of the library to New Haven was taken up. It was voted: "That the partial report made by the committee on the library be accepted, and the committee discharged." It was also voted, without dissent: "That the library of the Society be removed to New Haven." The Librarian, together with Professors Salisbury and Gibbs, were appointed to carry into effect the vote respecting the removal of the library, and to prepare rules for the use of the same, and a catalogue of the books; with authority to draw on the treasury for such funds as may be needed for these purposes.

On motion of Dr. Beck, it was voted: "That the thanks of the Society be communicated to Mr. Folsom for his faithful and useful services as Librarian during the period in which the library has been under his care in the Boston Athenæum."

The officers of the last year were re-elected, with the exception that Prof. W. D. Whitney of New Haven was chosen Librarian in the place of Mr. Folsom, in consequence of the vote of the Society to remove the library.

The following papers were communicated:

A Report of what has been done in this country towards reading the Phœnician Inscription discovered at Sidon in January, 1855; by Prof. E. E. Salisbury, of New Haven.

Communications on the subject, received from Prof. W. H. Green of Princeton, Rev. Dr. W. Jenks of Boston, and Mr. W. W. Turner of Washington, were submitted to the Society. Rev. Dr. Murdock of New Haven also expressed his views; and some remarks bearing on the date of the inscription were made by Dr. C. Pickering.

Letter from Rev. J. L. Porter of Damascus to Dr. Robinson, containing Greek Inscriptions. With *Remarks on the Inscriptions*, by Rev. Pres. Woolsey.

On the Topography and Antiquities of Cœle-Syria North of Baalbek, being a portion of a forth-coming new volume of Biblical Researches; by Rev. Dr. Robinson, of New York.

On the Sanskrit Accent, being a review of a work recently published by Prof. Bopp of Berlin on the Sanskrit accent as compared with the Greek; by Prof. W. D. Whitney, of New Haven.

Observations on a Tour in Kurdistân; by the late Rev. H. Lobdell, M. D., Missionary at Mosûl.

Remarks upon Two Assyrian Cylinders received from Dr. Lobdell of Mosûl; by Prof. E. E. Salisbury, of New Haven.

Review of a "Guide to Conversation in the English and Chinese Languages" by Dr. Stanislas Hernisz; by Rev. M. C. White, Missionary in China.

Additional Remarks on the Division of Zulu Discourse into Words; by Rev. L. Grout, Missionary in S. Africa.

Some remarks were also made by Prof. Felton, of Cambridge, on the *Present State of the Modern Greek Language and Literature.*

Rev. B. J. Bettelheim, M. D., Missionary in the island of Loo-Choo, having been introduced to the Society, made some observations respecting the Japanese language and literature.

NEW MEMBERS.

The following gentlemen have become members of the Society since the publication of the last List of Members.

1. *Corporate Members.*

Rev. W. R. Alger, of Boston.
" A. N. Arnold, late Missionary in Greece.
" J. F. Clarke, of Roxbury, Mass.
Mr. S. F. Dunlap, of New York.
Prof. W. H. Green, of Princeton, N. J.
Rev. A. L. Holladay, of Charlottesville, Va.
" F. W. Holland, of East Cambridge, Mass.
Mr. H. A. Homes, of Albany.
Rev. J. W. Miles, of Charleston, S. C.
Prof. Schele de Vere, of Charlottesville, Va.

2. *Corresponding Members.*

Rev. J. W. Johnson, Missionary in China.
Chevalier Khanikoff, Russian Consul-General at Tabrîz.
*Rev. H. Lobdell, M. D., Missionary at Mosûl.
" D. J. Macgowan, M. D., Missionary in China.
Prof. Max Müller, of Oxford.

ADDITIONS

TO THE

LIBRARY AND CABINET

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,

AUGUST, 1854.—AUGUST, 1855.

ADDITIONS, ETC.

By the Am. Antiq. Society.

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, in Boston, April 25, 1855. Boston: 1855. 8vo, pp. 36.

By the Armenian Mission of the A. B. C. F. M.

Old and New Testaments in Modern Armenian, with References. (Revised and edited by Rev. E. Riggs.) Smyrna: 1853. 4to, pp. 1175.

By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Edited by the Secretaries. No. CCXXXVII. (No. VI. 1853). Calcutta: 1853. 8vo.

Bibliotheca Indica. Nos. 58–61. Calcutta: 1853.

No. 58. A Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmans. Fasciculus 1st. 4to.

No. 59.....The Conquest of Syria, commonly ascribed to .... al-Wáqidí. Fasciculus 1st. 8vo.

No. 60. Túsy's List of Shy'ah Books and 'Alam Alhodá's Notes on Shy'ah Biography. Fasciculus 1st. 8vo.

No. 61. A Biographical Dictionary of Persons who knew Mohammad, by Ibn Hajar. Fasciculus 1st. 8vo.

By the Asiatic Society of Paris.

Journal Asiatique ..... 4me Série, Tome XX. 5me Série, Tomes i. ii. (2 copies) iii. iv. Paris: 1852–54. 8vo.

By Rev. Cephas Bennet, of Tavoy.

The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, in Sgau Karen..... Translated by Francis Mason. Third edition. Tavoy, Karen Miss. Press: 1853. Royal 8vo.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in Sgau Karen. .... Translated by Francis Mason. Third edition. Tavoy, Karen Miss. Press: 1853. Royal 8vo.

The Pentateuch .... in Sgau Karen. .... Translated by Rev. F. Mason. First edition. Tavoy, Karen Miss. Press: 1852. Royal 8vo.

Joshua, Judges, i. and ii. Samuel, i. and ii. Kings, i. and ii. Chronicles. *Karen.* Royal 8vo.

Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon. *Karen.* Royal 8vo.

The Gospels by Matthew and Mark, in Pwo Karen; translated from the Sgau by Karens, and revised by Rev. F. Mason, and D. L. Brayton. .... Tavoy: 1852. 12mo.

Questions on Matthew, with explanatory notes and practical remarks, in Pwo Karen; by D. L. Brayton. .... Tavoy: 1852. 12mo.

Notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews, in Karen; by E. L. Abbott. .... Tavoy: 1851. 12mo.

Thesaurus of Karen Knowledge ..... forming a complete Native Karen Dictionary, with definitions and examples, illustrating the usages of every word. Written by Sau Kau-too, and compiled by J. Wade. Vol. iv. Tavoy: 1850. 12mo. (2 copies.)

Karen Calendar and Annual for 1849; by Rev. E. B. Cross. The same for 1850. The same for 1851. (All bound in one vol.) Tavoy: 1848–50. 12mo.

Abbott's Arithmetic. .... 2nd edition. Tavoy: 1852. 16mo, pp. 33. *Karen.*

The Catechism; by J. Wade. .... 5th edition. Tavoy: 1852. 16mo, pp. 16. *Karen.* (2 copies.)

The Child's Catechism, No. 2; by M. H. Brayton. .... Tavoy: 1852. 16mo. *Karen.*

The Elders. .... By F. Mason. .... 3d edition. Tavoy: 1852. 16mo. *Karen.*

A brief View of the Elements of Christianity, in Pwo Karen; by D. L. Brayton. .... Tavoy: 1852. 16mo, pp. 32.

Materia Medica and Pathology. [By Rev. F. Mason.] Tavoy: 1848. 16mo. *Karen.*

By the Bombay Br. of the Roy. As. Society.

The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Edited by the Secretary. Nos. XVIII. XIX. Bombay: 1853–54. 8vo.

By Hon. Charles W. Bradley, of Singapore.

The New Testament in Chinese. Translated from the Greek for the Am. and For. Bible Society, by J. Goddard. Ningpo: 1853. 8vo size. [Part 1st, containing the Gospels and Acts.]

A Key to Divination by the Bamboo. 8vo size. *Chinese.*

An Elementary Geography of China. do. do.

A Japanese illustrated book, with illuminated cover; brought from Hakōdādi by the U. S. Expedition to Japan. 12mo size, pp. 20.

A Japanese painting, representing the native idea of female beauty; brought from Samūdi by the same.

Specimens of Japanese paper, of various qualities, and used for various purposes, as for blowing the nose, for writing, and for wrapping.

Specimen of the bark of the *Broussonetia papyrifera*, or Paper Mulberry, of Japan; also, a specimen of paper-twine, made from the same.

A Japanese coin, called *yēn-to*, value 1 mace or 100 cash, equal to one dime in U. S. currency, bearing the name of the Emperor of Japan.

By Prof. H. Brockhaus, of Leipzig.

Die Lieder des Hafiz. Persich mit dem Commentare des Sudi herausg. von Hermann Brockhaus. Ersten Bandes erstes Heft. Leipzig: 1854. pp. xii. 72.

By Mr. John P. Brown, of Constantinople.

Original Firman by which Hussain Bey was appointed Ferrash, or Sweeper-out of the Holy Places of Mekka and Medina, with authority to appoint his lieutenant to do the same for him. Dated A. H. 1206, Rejeb 15th.

By the Canton Mission of the A. B. C. F. M.

Commentary on Genesis.	1851.	8vo size.	*Chinese.*
The Four Gospels.		do.	do.
Commentary on Matthew.	1848.	do.	do.
Catechism of Scripture Doctrine.	1851.	12mo.	do.
Summary of Doctrine, in Trimeters.	1851.	do.	do.
Hymns and Psalms.	1849.	8vo size.	do.
Jesus the True God.		16mo size.	do.
Crucifixion of Jesus.		do.	do.
The New Birth.		do.	do.
Dissuasive from Use of Opium.		12mo size.	do.
Christian Almanac, for 1852.		8vo size.	do.
Treatise on Astronomy.	1849.	do.	do.
Treatise on Political Economy.	1847.	8vo.	do.
Description of the United States.	1846.	do.	do.

All the above printed at the press of the A. B. C. F. M. in Canton.

By Prof. George E. Day.

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WILLIAM D. WHITNEY, *Librarian.*

ARTICLE II.

ON

THE NESTORIAN TABLET

OF

SE-GAN FOO.

BY

Mr. A. WYLIE.

(Reprinted from the North China Herald.)

THE NESTORIAN TABLET OF SE-GAN FOO.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

"THE genuineness of the so-called Nestorian Monument of Singan-Fu" was made the subject of a communication to the American Oriental Society by Prof. E. E. Salisbury, offered October 14, 1852, and published in the Society's Journal, Vol. III. pp. 401 etc. Farther light respecting the monument seeming highly desirable, the Society subsequently passed a resolution, requesting the American Missionaries in China to take such measures as might be found practicable, for having the stone revisited and described, and for obtaining new fac-similes of the whole inscription. This resolution was communicated to the various Missions through Dr. Bridgman, and, as was hoped, has not failed to produce valuable results. Two lithographic impressions from the face of the monument itself have been sent from China, and deposited in the Library of the Society: a letter of Dr. McCartee, accompanying one of them, has been given on a former page of the Journal (see above, p. 260). And during the month of August of this year, Prof. Salisbury received from Dr. Bridgman, at Shanghai, a copy of an essay on the subject of the genuineness of the monument, with a letter of which the following is a part, "A copy of your paper on the Syrian monument I placed in the hands of my friend Mr. A. Wylie, and expressed a hope that he, being interested in the question, would follow it up; he has done so, and published what he wrote in the North China Herald; and herewith I send you a copy thereof."

This essay has seemed to be so very valuable and interesting a contribution to our knowledge of the subject, to discuss so thoroughly and with such a fullness of learning, and to place in so clear a light, the evidences in favor of the genuineness of the monument derivable from a study of its characters and its contents, that we have thought we could not do those interested in the matter a greater service than by republishing it entire. In the North China

Herald it will be accessible to but very few indeed of scholars in the West; and there would appear to be a peculiar propriety in its being farther made known through the medium of the Journal from whose pages was derived the immediate incitement to its composition. If we are not mistaken, it will go far to settle for ever the question which it discusses; and to establish the authenticity of a document of high interest for the history of the extension of Christianity through Asia in early times. The learned world will be grateful to Mr. Wylie for his able assistance in putting an end to the doubts which have long been felt respecting this document, and will also, we trust, thank us for helping to extend the knowledge of his investigations and their results.

In the original essay, the Chinese characters are given, along with a transcription of them into Roman letters, for all names, titles, and brief sentences, cited from the inscription. These characters are necessarily omitted in the reprint, but the author's transcription is faithfully presented.

Dr. Bridgman's letter accompanying the essay farther says, "A few days ago" (the letter is dated March 10, 1856), "I met an Italian, a Romanist, who had seen and examined the stone, while detained in the neighborhood of Si-ngan fu"; but it does not speak of any information derived from him with regard to it. An impression of the Syriac inscription at the foot of the Chinese is wanting on both the copies sent to the Society; it would be interesting to know whether the former is, as conjectured by Mr. Wylie, upon a different facing of the stone; and also, of course, to have a new and accurate fac-simile impression of it likewise.

MORE than two centuries have now passed away, since the Jesuit fathers announced to the world the discovery of a marble tablet in 1625, recording the establishment of the Christian religion in China during the Tang dynasty (7th and 8th centuries). This was said to have been discovered by the Chinese, while digging for the foundation of a house, at a village not far distant from the city of Se-gan. The first foreigner who saw it after its exhumation was Alvarez Semedo, who gives the following account in his Relatione della Grande Monarchia della Cina.* "Three years afterwards, in the year 1628, some fathers entered this province

* Not having the original of this work at hand, we quote from Kircher's *China Illustrata.*

by favor of a Christian Mandarin, named Phillip, who was going into that quarter. The same fathers obtained (by favor and authority of this same Mandarin) the privilege of erecting a house, and building a Church for practising the exercises of our religion, in the Metropolitan city of Se-gan foo; where God, by his infinite mercy, has been pleased to exhibit a memento so authentic of the submission of this country to his law, in order thus to employ it anew, and by that means facilitate the worship of his name, and the introduction of his gospel. I was permitted to be one of the first to inhabit this dwelling; in which I considered myself fortunate, because I had the opportunity of going to see the stone; which I went to visit as soon as I arrived, without caring for anything else. I have seen and read it, re-read and considered it, at leisure and in quietness; in fine, I examined it so attentively, that I could not restrain my admiration of its antiquity, and my astonishment at seeing the characters, so visible, so clean, and so well engraved, that one might have said they were but just formed. There are several Chinese characters on the thickness, containing the names of several Bishops and Priests of that period; there are also some other characters, which, up to the present time, no one has been able to explain; for they are neither Greek nor Hebrew; and which nevertheless (in my opinion) signify nothing else than the same names; so that these different characters are used merely to make known to travellers and foreigners, that which the commonly used characters make known to the people of China. After this, taking a journey by Cochin, I arrived at Cranganor, which is the residence of the Archbishop of the coast, where I consulted the Father Anthony Fernandez of our company on this matter; because he is very clever respecting the letters that have been used since the time of the Apostle Thomas, and he told me they were Syriac characters; for they were most in use at that time." Martin Martini, Michel Boime, and others of the time, followed with testimony to the same effect. The high coloring, however, which some of that fraternity had been in the habit of giving to matters of which they treated, raised a natural suspicion among many against every statement which emanated from them. That these suspicions were in many instances, if not unfounded, at least allowed to reach an undue magnitude, subsequent events have clearly proved. Under such circumstances it is

not surprising that scepticism was on the alert, and that, from various motives, ingenuity was exercised to detect some deception, or to hit upon some means of nullifying the testimony in favor of this discovery. Among the most talented opponents were Bishop Horne, Spizelius, LaCroze, and Voltaire. Most writers on China since their time have noticed this monument, at greater or less length. It is to be regretted, however, that from the conflicting statements which have been set forth, some of our greatest church historians have been left in doubt on the subject, and the question having been recently revived among the savans in America, E. E. Salisbury, Professor of Arabic and Sanskrit in Yale College, U. S., has issued a paper commencing with the startling statement of his opinion "that the Nestorian monument is now generally regarded by the learned as a forgery." This may form our apology for a few remarks, which we shall preface with a translation of this famous inscription, differing in some respects from those that have been hitherto given.

Tablet eulogizing the propagation of the Illustrious Religion in China, with a preface; composed by King-tsing, a priest of the Syrian Church.

Behold the unchangeably true and invisible, who existed through all eternity without origin; the far-seeing perfect intelligence, whose mysterious existence is everlasting; operating on primordial substance he created the universe, being more excellent than all holy intelligences, inasmuch as he is the source of all that is honorable. This is our eternal true lord God, triune and mysterious in substance. He appointed the cross as the means for determining the four cardinal points, he moved the original spirit, and produced the two principles of nature; the sombre void was changed, and heaven and earth were opened out; the sun and moon revolved, and day and night commenced; having perfected all inferior objects, he then made the first man; upon him he bestowed an excellent disposition, giving him in charge the government of all created beings; man, acting out the original principles of his nature, was pure and unostentatious; his unsullied and expansive mind was free from the least inordinate desire; until Satan introduced the seeds of falsehood, to deteriorate his purity of principle; the opening thus commenced in his virtue gradually enlarged, and by this crevice in his nature was obscured and rendered vicious; hence three hundred and sixty-five sects followed each other in continuous track, inventing every species of doctrinal complexity; while some pointed to mate-

rial objects as the source of their faith, others reduced all to vacancy, even to the annihilation of the two primeval principles; some sought to call down blessings by prayers and supplications, while others by an assumption of excellence held themselves up as superior to their fellows; their intellects and thoughts continually wavering, their minds and affections incessantly on the move, they never obtained their vast desires, but being exhausted and distressed they revolved in their own heated atmosphere; till by an accumulation of obscurity they lost their path, and after long groping in darkness they were unable to return. Thereupon, our Trinity being divided in nature, the illustrious and honorable Messiah, veiling his true dignity, appeared in the world as a man; angelic powers promulgated the glad tidings, a virgin gave birth to the Holy One in Syria; a bright star announced the felicitous event, and Persians observing the splendor came to present tribute; the ancient dispensation, as declared by the twenty-four holy men, was then fulfilled, and he laid down great principles for the government of families and kingdoms; he established the new religion of the silent operation of the pure spirit of the Triune, he rendered virtue subservient to direct faith; he fixed the extent of the eight boundaries, thus completing the truth and freeing it from dross; he opened the gate of the three constant principles, introducing life and destroying death; he suspended the bright sun to invade the chambers of darkness, and the falsehoods of the devil were thereupon defeated; he set in motion the vessel of mercy by which to ascend to the bright mansions, whereupon rational beings were then released; having thus completed the manifestation of his power, in clear day he ascended to his true station. Twenty-seven sacred books have been left, which disseminate intelligence by unfolding the original transforming principles. By the rule for admission, it is the custom to apply the water of baptism, to wash away all superficial show, and to cleanse and purify the neophytes. As a seal, they hold the cross, whose influence is reflected in every direction, uniting all without distinction. As they strike the wood, the fame of their benevolence is diffused abroad; worshiping towards the east, they hasten on the way to life and glory; they preserve the beard to symbolize their outward actions, they shave the crown to indicate the absence of inward affections; they do not keep slaves, but put noble and mean all on an equality; they do not amass wealth, but cast all their property into the common stock; they fast, in order to perfect themselves by self-inspection; they submit to restraints, in order to strengthen themselves by silent watchfulness; seven times a day they have worship and praise, for the benefit of the living and the dead; once in seven days they sacrifice, to cleanse the heart and return to purity.

It is difficult to find a name to express the excellence of the true and unchangeable doctrine; but as its meritorious operations are

manifestly displayed, by accommodation it is named the Illustrious Religion. Now without holy men, principles cannot become expanded; without principles, holy men cannot become magnified; but with holy men and right principles, united as the two parts of a signet, the world becomes civilized and enlightened.

In the time of the accomplished emperor Tae-tsung, the illustrious and magnificent founder of the dynasty, among the enlightened and holy men who arrived, was the Most-virtuous Alopun, from the country of Syria. Observing the azure clouds, he bore the true sacred books; beholding the direction of the winds, he braved difficulties and dangers. In the year A. D. 635, he arrived at Changgan; the Emperor sent his prime minister, Duke Fang Heuen-ling; who, carrying the official staff to the west border, conducted his guest into the interior; the sacred books were translated in the imperial library, the sovereign investigated the subject in his private apartments; when becoming deeply impressed with the rectitude and truth of the religion, he gave special orders for its dissemination. In the seventh month of the year A. D. 638, the following imperial proclamation was issued:

"Right principles have no invariable name, holy men have no invariable station; instruction is established in accordance with the locality, with the object of benefiting the people at large. The Greatly-virtuous Alopun, of the kingdom of Syria, has brought his sacred books and images from that distant part, and has presented them at our chief capital. Having examined the principles of this religion, we find them to be purely excellent and natural; investigating its originating source, we find it has taken its rise from the establishment of important truths; its ritual is free from perplexing expressions, its principles will survive when the frame-work is forgot; it is beneficial to all creatures, it is advantageous to mankind. Let it be published throughout the empire, and let the proper authority build a Syrian church in the capital in the E-ning Way, which shall be governed by twenty-one priests. When the virtue of the Chow dynasty declined, the rider on the azure ox ascended to the west; the principles of the great Tang becoming resplendent, the Illustrious breezes have come to fan the east."

Orders were then issued to the authorities to have a true portrait of the emperor taken; when it was transferred to the wall of the church, the dazzling splendor of the celestial visage irradiated the Illustrious portals. The sacred traces emitted a felicitous influence, and shed a perpetual splendor over the holy precincts. According to the Illustrated Memoir of the Western Regions, and the historical books of the Han and Wei dynasties, the kingdom of Syria reaches south to the Coral Sea; on the north it joins the Gem Mountains; on the west it extends towards the borders of the immortals and the flowery forests; on the east it lies open to the violent winds and

tideless waters. The country produces fire-proof cloth, life-restoring incense, bright moon-pearls, and night-lustre gems. Brigands and robbers are unknown, but the people enjoy happiness and peace. None but illustrious laws prevail; none but the virtuous are raised to sovereign power. The land is broad and ample, and its literary productions are perspicuous and clear.

The emperor Kaou-tsung respectfully succeeded his ancestor, and was still more beneficent towards the institution of truth. In every province, he caused Illustrious churches to be erected, and ratified the honor conferred upon Alopun; making him the great conservator of doctrine for the preservation of the state. While this doctrine pervaded every channel, the state became enriched, and tranquility abounded. Every city was full of churches, and the royal family enjoyed lustre and happiness. In the year A. D. 699, the Buddhists, gaining power, raised their voices in the eastern metropolis; in the year A. D. 713, some low fellows excited ridicule, and spread slanders in the western capital. At that time there was the chief priest Lo-han, the Greatly-virtuous Kie-leih, and others of noble estate from the golden regions, lofty minded priests, having abandoned all worldly interests; who unitedly maintained the grand principles, and preserved them entire to the end.

The high-principled emperor Heuen-tsung caused the Prince of Ning and others, five princes in all, personally to visit the felicitous edifice; he established the place of worship; he restored the consecrated timbers which had been temporarily thrown down; and re-erected the sacred stones which for a time had been desecrated.

In 742, orders were given to the great general Kaou Leih-sze, to send the five sacred portraits (of the Tang emperors) and have them placed in the church, and a gift of a hundred pieces of silk accompanied these pictures of intelligence. Although the dragon's beard was then remote, their bows and swords were still within reach; while the solar horns sent forth their rays, the celestial visages seemed close at hand.

In 744, the priest Keih-ho in the kingdom of Syria, looking towards the star (of China), was attracted by its transforming influence, and observing the sun (i. e. emperor), came to pay court to the most honorable. The emperor commanded the priest Lo-han, the priest Poo-lun, and others, seven in all, together with the Greatly-virtuous Keih-ho, to perform a service of merit in the Hing-king palace. Thereupon the emperor composed mottos for the sides of the church, and the tablets were graced with the royal inscriptions; the accumulated gems emitted their effulgence, while their sparkling brightness vied with the ruby clouds; the transcripts of intelligence suspended in the void shot forth their rays as reflected by the sun; the bountiful gifts exceeded the height of the southern hills; the

bedewing favors, were deep as the eastern sea. Nothing is beyond the range of right principle, and what is permissible may be identified; nothing is beyond the power of the holy man, and that which is practicable may be related.

The accomplished and enlightened emperor Suh-tsung rebuilt the Illustrious churches in Ling-woo and four other places; great benefits were conferred, and felicity began to increase; great munificence was displayed, and the imperial state became established.

The accomplished and military emperor Tae-tsung magnified the sacred succession, and honored the latent principle of nature; always, on the incarnation-day, he bestowed celestial incense; and ordered the performance of a service of merit; he distributed of the imperial viands, in order to shed a glory on the Illustrious congregation. Heaven is munificent in the dissemination of blessings, whereby the benefits of life are extended; the holy man embodies the original principle of virtue, whence he is able to counteract noxious influences.

Our sacred and sagelike, accomplished and military emperor Keen-chung appointed the eight branches of government, according to which he advanced or degraded the intelligent and dull; he opened up the nine categories, by means of which he renovated the illustrious decrees; his transforming influence pervaded the most abstruse principles, while openness of heart distinguished his devotions. Thus, by correct and enlarged purity of principle, and undeviating consistency in sympathy with others; by extended commiseration, rescuing multitudes from misery, while disseminating blessings on all around, the cultivation of our doctrine gained a grand basis, and by gradual advances its influence was diffused. If the winds and rains are seasonable, the world will be at rest; men will be guided by principle, inferior objects will be pure; the living will be at ease, and the dead will rejoice; the thoughts will produce their appropriate response, the affections will be free, and the eyes will be sincere; such is the laudable condition which we of the Illustrious religion are laboring to attain.

Our great benefactor, the Imperially-conferred-purple-gown priest E-sze, titular Great Statesman of the Banqueting-house, Associated Secondary Military Commissioner for the Northern Region, and Examination-Palace Overseer, was naturally mild and graciously disposed; his mind susceptible of sound doctrine, he was diligent in the performance; from the distant city of Râjagriha he came to visit China; his principles more lofty than those of the three dynasties, his practice was perfect in every department; at first he applied himself to duties pertaining to the palace, eventually his name was inscribed on the military roll. When the Duke Koh Tsze-e, secondary minister of state, and prince of Fun-yang, at first conducted the military in the northern region, the emperor Suh-tsung made him

(E-sze) his attendant on his travels; although he was a private chamberlain, he assumed no distinction on the march; he was as claws and teeth to the duke, and in rousing the military he was as ears and eyes; he distributed the wealth conferred upon him, not accumulating treasure for his private use; he made offerings of the jewelry which had been given by imperial favor, he spread out a golden carpet for devotion; now he repaired the old churches, anon he increased the number of religious establishments; he honored and decorated the various edifices, till they resembled the plumage of the pheasant in its flight; moreover, practising the discipline of the Illustrious religion, he distributed his riches in deeds of benevolence; every year he assembled those in the sacred office from four churches, and respectfully engaged them for fifty days in purification and preparation; the naked came and were clothed; the sick were attended to and restored; the dead were buried in repose; even among the most pure and self-denying of the Buddhists, such excellence was never heard of; the white-clad members of the Illustrious congregation, now considering these men, have desired to engrave a broad tablet, in order to set forth a eulogy of their magnanimous deeds.

ODE.

The true Lord is without origin,
Profound, invisible, and unchangeable;
With power and capacity to perfect and transform,
He raised up the earth and established the heavens.

Divided in nature, he entered the world,
To save and to help without bounds;
The sun arose, and darkness was dispelled,
All bearing witness to his true original.

The glorious and resplendent, accomplished emperor,
Whose principles embraced those of preceding monarchs,
Taking advantage of the occasion, suppressed turbulence;
Heaven was spread out and the earth was enlarged.

When the pure, bright Illustrious religion
Was introduced to our Tang dynasty,
The Scriptures were translated, and churches built,
And the vessel set in motion for the living and the dead;
Every kind of blessing was then obtained,
And all the kingdoms enjoyed a state of peace.

When Kaou-tsung succeeded to his ancestral estate,
He rebuilt the edifices of purity;

Palaces of concord, large and light,
Covered the length and breadth of the land.

The true doctrine was clearly announced,
Overseers of the church were appointed in due form;
The people enjoyed happiness and peace,
While all creatures were exempt from calamity and distress.

When Heuen-tsung commenced his sacred career,
He applied himself to the cultivation of truth and rectitude;
His imperial tablets shot forth their effulgence,
And the celestial writings mutually reflected their splendors.

The imperial domain was rich and luxuriant,
While the whole land rendered exalted homage;
Every business was flourishing throughout,
And the people all enjoyed prosperity.

Then came Suh-tsung, who commenced anew,
And celestial dignity marked the imperial movements;
Sacred as the moon's unsullied expanse,
While felicity was wafted like nocturnal gales.

Happiness reverted to the imperial household,
The autumnal influences were long removed;
Ebullitions were allayed, and risings suppressed,
And thus our dynasty was firmly built up.

Tae-tsung the filial and just
Combined in virtue with heaven and earth;
By his liberal bequests the living were satisfied,
And property formed the channel of imparting succor.

By fragrant mementos he rewarded the meritorious,
With benevolence he dispensed his donations;
The solar concave appeared in dignity,
And the lunar retreat was decorated to extreme.

When Keen-chung succeeded to the throne,
He began by the cultivation of intelligent virtue;
His military vigilance extended to the four seas,
And his accomplished purity influenced all lands.

His light penetrated the secrecies of men,
And to him the diversities of objects were seen as in a mirror;

He shed a vivifying influence through the whole realm of nature,
And all outer nations took him for example.

The true doctrine how expansive!
Its responses are minute;
How difficult to name it!
To elucidate the three in one.

The sovereign has the power to act!
While the ministers record;
We raise this noble monument!
To the praise of great felicity.

This was erected in the 2nd year of Keen-chung, of the Tang dynasty (A. D. 781), on the 7th day of 1st month, being Sunday.

Written by Lew Sew-yen, Secretary to Council, formerly Military Superintendent for Tae-chow; while the Bishop Ning-shoo had the charge of the congregations of the Illustrious in the east.

The above translation has been made with the assistance of two fac-simile impressions taken from the stone. The two lines of Syriac, of which the following is a transcript, are in the Estrangelo character, and run down the right and left sides of the Chinese respectively:

Adam Kasiso Vicur-apiskupo va Papasi de Zinstan.
Beyumi aba dabahotha Mar Hana Jesua katholika patriarchis.

Kircher translates this as follows:

"Adam, Deacon, Vicar-episcopal and Pope of China.
In the time of the Father of Fathers, the Lord John Joshua, the Universal Patriarch."

Having been unable to procure an impression of the Syriac at the foot, as it appears to be on a different facing of the stone, we give the transcript here on the authority of Kircher:

Besanath alf utisaain vtarten diavanoiè. Mor Jibuzad Kasiso Vcurapiskupo de Cumdan medinah malcutho bar-nihh napso Milis Kasiso dmen Balehh medintho Tahhurstan Akim Lucho hono Papa dictabon beh medabarnutho dpharukan Vcaruzuthon dabhain daluat malche dizinio.

"In the year of the Greeks one thousand and ninety-two, the Lord Jazedbuzid, Priest and Vicar-episcopal of Cumdan the royal city, son of the enlightened Mailas, Priest of Balach a city of Turkestan, set up this tablet, whereon is inscribed the Dispensation of our Redeemer, and the preaching of the apostolic missionaries to the king of China."

After this, in Chinese characters is "The Priest Lingpaou." Then follows:

Adam meschamschòno Bar Jidbuzad Curapiskupo.
Mar Sargis Kasiso, Vcurapiskupo.
Sabar Jesua Kasiso.
Gabriel Kasiso Varcɔdiakun, Vrisch medintho de Cumdan vdasrag.

"Adam the Deacon, son of Jazedbuzid, Vicar-episcopal.
The Lord Sergius, Priest and Vicar-episcopal.
Sabar Jesus, Priest.
Gabriel, Priest, Archdeacon, and Ecclesiarch of Cumdan and Sarag."

The following subscription is appended in Chinese:

"Assistant Examiner: the High Statesman of the Sacred rites, the Imperially-conferred-purple-gown Chief Presbyter and Priest Ye-le."

On the left hand edge are the Syriac names of sixty-seven priests, and sixty-one are given in Chinese.

In summing up the evidence *pro* and *con* for the genuineness of this tablet, Professor Salisbury remarks "that there is no intrinsic improbability in the account of the discovery; but, inasmuch as it is not known that any one has pretended to have seen the original monument during the last two centuries, and as the state of preservation of the inscription, and the condition of the tablet, might prove an important source of inference as to its being genuine, it is essential to a full belief in the story, that the monument be seen by some disinterested person at the present day." It makes very little for the argument one way or the other, that we have no notice of its having been seen by a foreigner for two centuries, considering we have never heard of any foreigner having visited the locality during the period stated. Should a visit to the spot indicated prove a failure in discovering its existence, suspicion would in that case be well founded.

But although no foreigner may have seen it of late, we have abundant evidence that it has been seen, read, examined, and criticised by natives in no way prejudiced in favor of the religion it professes to make known, fully competent and thoroughly disposed to detect any indication of fraud, did such exist; but although they have made fac-similes, although they have printed, published and republished it again and again, although they speak of the extravagant boasting of its contents, although they charge the authors with hypocrisy and deceit, and take occasion from it to launch forth invectives not only against the sect it commemorates, but also against the Christian religion in every form, and more generally against all foreign religions whatever, yet we never find the least trace of suspicion as to the existence of the stone, or the veracity of the date it bears.

For the present we pass over the testimony to be derived from various publications in the Chinese language, which have been issued both by foreign missionaries and by their native converts; although considering that they have thrown the weight of their character into the scale, that they were men not likely to be deceived in the matter, and that, in the promulgation of their own faith, they have endeavored to give force to their arguments by illustrations drawn from this monument, in their appeals to a people who had the best possible means of judging of its authenticity, and who, under the supposition of forgery, most assuredly would not have failed to bring home to them with merited retribution the consequences of the imposture they were thus using their influence to establish;—in the face of these facts, we think their evidence cannot be lightly set aside, under the assumption that they were interested parties. We will however cite another class of witnesses, who must be entirely free from any imputation of this kind.

The *Kin shih wan tsze ke*, Record of the Characters of Metal and Stone Inscriptions, published by Koo Yen-woo, a native of Kwan-shan, at the commencement of the present dynasty, and republished in Shanghae in 1824, on the 25th page of the 4th vol., notices the "Tablet commemorating the propagation of the Illustrious religion in China; composed by the priest King-tsing; written in the square character, by Lew Sew-yen; set up in the 1st month of the year 781; now in the Kin-shing monastery, outside the city of

Se-gan foo." The 6th volume, which contains a long catalogue of uncommon forms of characters on inscriptions, again notices the Syrian tablet, as containing — instead of *tsan* "effulgence," in the sentence, "the bright gems emitted their effulgence." The preceding character was used in former times with this same meaning, though it has long been abandoned in the ordinary literature of the day. Examples of this kind are exceedingly numerous in Chinese, but it is only scholars of considerable standing who have sufficient knowledge of the *koo wan* (ancient literature) to enable them to apply such words with due effect, and this it is which commands the admiration of the literati to a great extent.

The *Kwan chung Kin shih kę*, Record of the Metal and Stone inscriptions of Shen-si, published by Pieh Yuen of Chin-yang, President of the Board of War, about A. D. 1780, on the 8th page of the 4th volume, has a notice of the "Tablet commemorating the propagation of the Syrian Illustrious religion in China; erected in the 1st month of the year 781; the inscriptions composed by the priest King-tsing; written in the square character by Lew Sew-yen, with a heading; in the Tsung-shing monastery, at Se-gan-foo." After about half a page of digression on the geography of "Ta-tsin" (which we have translated Syria) of the tablet, it proceeds to identify the first church of this sect in China, with a church recorded in the Topography of Chang-gan, to have been built in the E-ning Way, A. D. 639, the priest of which is named A-lo-sze, which the writer remarks is merely an error of the author of the Topography, and should be the same as A-lo-pun of the tablet.

In the *Kin shih luh poo*, Supplementary Record of Metal and Stone Inscriptions, published by Ye Yih-paou Kew-lae, a native of Kwan-shan, A. D. 1790, are the following remarks on this stone: "This tablet states that 'the tablet eulogizing the propagation of the Illustrious religion in China, with the preface, was composed by King-tsing, a priest of the Syrian church;' again: 'The tablet was erected in the 2nd year of Keen-chung (A. D. 781) on the 7th day of 1st month, being Sunday. Written by Lew Sew-yen, Secretary to the Court Council, formerly Military Superintendent for Tae-chow.' At the foot and on the edges are foreign characters. At the foot is inscribed 'Assistant Ex-

aminer: the High Statesman of the Sacred rites, the Imperially-conferred-purple-gown Chief Presbyter and Priest Ye-cha.'* [This stone tablet was examined and set up by the Priest Hing-tung.]† These words are interspersed with the foreign characters; which characters are all turned towards the left, and are untranslatable. I take the 'Triune and mysterious in substance, the eternal true Lord *Aloho*' of the tablet, to be the lord of that religion. 'The most virtuous Alopun, from the country of Syria, arrived at Changgan in the year A. D. 635; and a Syrian church was built in the capital, in the E-ning Way, to be governed by twenty-one priests, in A. D. 638.' This shows that the Roman Catholic religion was introduced into China from the commencement of the Tang dynasty, and up to the present time it has become disseminated through the whole empire. I read in the Account of the Western Regions, that Fuh-lin, the ancient Ta-tsin, borders on the Western sea, distant from the capital of China forty thousand *le*. It carries on a commerce with Siam, Cochin-china, and the Five Indies. In the flourishing period of Kae-yuen (713—742) there was a rush of Western foreigners, who came from a distance of ten thousand *le*, eagerly presented the sacred books of their various nations, which were received into the Palace for the Translation of Classics, and thereupon the religions of foreign regions became practised in China. Then the number of their priests could be estimated by the number of temples erected. At that time there were 5,358 temples, 75,024

* This book and several other of the authorities quoted here, give this name *Ye-cha*, but Kircher gives *Ye-le*, and in a very carefully executed impression from the stone, which we have recently procured in Shanghae, a manuscript note at the end, written many years ago, gives it *Ye-le*, which we presume to be the more correct.

† The line here enclosed in brackets is not given at all in Kircher's copy, but, as it exactly coincides with the manuscript note referred to above, there is every reason to believe it correct. It will appear out of order here for the Assistant Examiner to be placed before the Chief Examiner, but this may be explained by the fact that the Chinese immediately follows the Syriac, and is intended doubtless to be read in the same order, i. e. from left to right; but the Chinese copyists, not being aware of this fact, would take the right hand line for the commencement, in the usual way. This is not a groundless conjecture, for it is well known that in the Manchu and Mongolian books printed in China, where there is occasion to introduce Chinese quotations, these are printed contrary to the usual Chinese form, the lines succeeding each other from left to right, in accommodation to the Tartar mode.

priests, and 50,576 nuns; there was a censor appointed to take account of the priests and nuns belonging to the two capitals; if any of the priests or nuns remained out of their temples at night, it was noted in a register; they were not allowed to lodge among the people for more than three nights; if any did not return to their locality for nine years, their names were recorded in a book, and they were treated with great severity. Now the erection of a temple in the empire is a rare occurrence, but priests and nuns have become innumerable."

In the *Sze koo tseen shoo te yaou*, Important Selections from the Books in the Imperial Library, a compilation drawn up by order of the emperor Kien-lung, and published about the year 1790, a work which occupied several years in the completion, a number of the chief ministers having been engaged on it, we read as follows, "'Summary of Western Learning, in one volume, with an Appendix in one chapter, on the Tang tablet of the Syrian church.' This tablet states that in the year A. D. 639, Alopun, of the kingdom of Syria, brought his sacred books and images from that distant part, and presented them at the chief capital, when orders were given by the emperor to build a Syrian church in the E-ning Way, to be governed by twenty-one priests, &c." The editors then go on to quote a number of historical incidents, which show a great amount of research into the national antiquities, with a view to identify the religion spoken of in the tablet, and which in some instances are anything but flattering to the adherents of that religion. These we shall notice on a subsequent page. At the conclusion of their remarks on the subject, they say, "Since Julius Aloni, in writing this book, has adduced the Tang tablet as a testimony in his favor, this still further removes any doubt as to his being of the Heen* religion. But no one has yet traced out by proofs from antiquity the origin of its propagation, and hence it has spread all over the breadth of the land. From the time of Wan-leih (1573–1620), scholars and great statesmen have in general limited their discourses to the doctrine of the heart, and merely issued works of a metaphysical character, on subjects which only embrace the life of the individual;

* This is the name of an ancient religion in China, which the writers endeavor to identify with the religion of the tablet, and also with the Roman Catholic religion.

therefore they have not investigated antiquity to discover the evidence of facts, by which they might put a stop to the propagation of these depraved discourses."

The *Kin shih tsuy peen*, Collection of Metal and Stone Inscriptions, was published by Dr. Wang Gae, Great Statesman of the Banqueting-house, and Vice-president of the Board of Punishments, in 1805, when he had reached the advanced age of eighty-two. This work contains about a thousand inscriptions taken from existing monuments of various ages, from the Hea dynasty (B. C. 2200) down to the end of the Sung (A. D. 1264). The 102nd volume commences with the Syrian monument, the discussion of which occupies more than thirteen leaves. After giving the size of the stone, and the number of lines and characters on it, a transcript of the Chinese part on the face is given entire. From the critical remarks which succeed, we select the following, which is an extract from the *Lae Tsae Kin shih kih kaou leo*, Brief Examination of Stone and Metal Engravings, by Lae Tsae. "To the west of the city of Se-gan, where now stands the Kin-shing monastery, in the time of Tsung-ching (1628–1644)* of the Ming dynasty, Tsow Tsing-ching of Tsin-ling, Prefect of Se-gan, had a little boy named Hoa-seng, who was endowed with extraordinary acuteness at his birth; from the first he was able to walk, and soon began to join his hands in supplication to Buddha, which he continued to do almost without relaxation day and night; in a short time he was taken sick; with his eyes scarcely open, he peered out sideways laughing, and then went to his long home. The spot chosen by divination for his burial, was to the south of the Tsung-jin monastery in Chang-gan. When they had dug to the depth of several feet, the excavators came upon a stone, which happened to be the Tablet of the Propagation of the Illustrious Religion.† This tablet, hav-

* There is an error here as to the date, which is at least three years too late.

† This incident is alluded to in a manifesto by Michel Boime, published in Kircher's *China Illustrata*, although he gives a somewhat different version of the story; he says, "The Governor of this place having been informed of the discovery of a marble so rare, and a monument so precious, pressed by a movement of curiosity, and perhaps also because he had lost a child the same day, proceeded to the spot, caused a book to be written to the praise of this Illustrious stone, and caused this treasure to be removed (after he had taken a faithful copy upon a similar marble), into the temple of the Tauist priests, which is distant about a mile from the walls of *Si-ngan-foo*, the metropolis of the kingdom; in order to give to posterity an eternal memento, and to prevent future ages from being deprived of so great a boon."

ing been imbedded in the earth for a thousand years, and now for the first time re-discovered, shows the natural succession of cause and effect throughout the three generations (i. e. past, present and future). This child, having been one of the pure unshaven ones, returned again; thus the 'pleasant habitation awaiting Chin Pin,' and 'Yang Ming remaining till the opening of the door' have been shown to be no idle sayings. See the *Lew Yew-hoa Tseih*, Miscellany of Lew Yew-hoa, of Pin-yang. The characters are in the first style of art, without the least defect. The foot and the ends have foreign characters on them, similar to those in the Buddhist classics." Here we see that the author of this extract, either intentionally or otherwise, ignores all allusion to the Christian religion on the tablet, bringing it forward as a link in the evidence in favor of the metempsychosis, supposing this child in a former state to have been one of the pure and disinterested priests commemorated in the tablet. But whatever may have been his theory on this point, his evidence is equally applicable to our purpose, in showing the existence and authenticity of the stone in question.

Further on is an extract from *Tseen yen tang Kin shih wan po wei*, The Tseen-yen Hall Appendices to the Metal and Stone Literature, by Tseen Ta-hin, Attendant on the Imperial Household in the time of Kea-king, a native of Kea-ting. Speaking of this tablet, he says, "The Illustrious religion is the religion established by the people of Syria in the western regions." Again: "There is only this tablet that bears record of the Illustrious religion, and hands down any particulars respecting it; according to which, it commenced from the beginning of the Tang dynasty, when Alopun the Syrian priest, bearing the sacred books and images, arrived at Chang-gan. Tae-tsung ordered the authorities to build a Syrian church in the E-ning Way, to be governed by twenty-one priests. In the time of Kaou-tsung, Alopun was honored with the appointment of Great Conservator of Doctrine for the Preservation of the State, and orders were given as before for the erection of Illustrious churches in every province. The priests all shaved the crown of their heads, and preserved their beards. Seven times a day they had worship and praise; once in seven days they offered sacrifice. The image they honored was the Triune, mysterious in substance, eternal, true Lord Aloho (God). Now if

we trace back to the year of the birth of Jesus the Lord of Heaven, who is worshipped by Europeans, it ought to be in the period Kae-hwang (518–631) of the Suy dynasty. Some say this is the ancient religion of Syria; whether such be the case or not, I have not examined. At the end it says, 'Erected on the 7th day of the 1st month, being *Ta-yaou-san-wan* day;' *Ta-yaou-san-wan*, which it speaks of, is an expression belonging to that religion. The fire-proof cloth is a cloth that can be cleansed by fire." It is strange that an author like this, who has shown himself so acute by his other works, and especially in matters of chronology, should have fallen into the monstrous error with regard to time, which he has exhibited in speaking of the period of the birth of Christ; and can only be accounted for by the haughty indifference with which natives of talent too frequently treat foreign religions, wilfully keeping themselves ignorant of facts which very little trouble might put them in possession of. Notwithstanding this egregious misconception, we imagine few will be inclined to reject his testimony as to the existence of the stone in question, which is all we have to do with at present.

At a later period, this author published another small work, called *King keaou kaou*, Inquiry into the Illustrious Religion, from which we extract, "In the time of Wan-leih (1573–1620),* when some people at Chang-gan were excavating the ground, they found a tablet of the Illustrious religion, dated 2nd year of Keen-chung (A. D. 781), of the Tang dynasty. The scholars and great statesmen, who had become disciples of the western teaching, congratulated each other on the fact of their religion having been propagated in China so early as the time of the Tang; but if they were asked what the Illustrious religion really was, they could not tell."

After this comes an extract from the *Taou koo tang Wan tseih*, Literary Miscellany of Taou-koo Hall, by Hang She-tseuen, entitled Supplementary Inquiry into the Illustrious Religion. Without making particular mention of the discovery of the stone, the author proceeds, as if that were an admitted fact, to remark upon the religion of which it records the existence, and endeavors to draw a parallel between

* This period is at least four years too early.

that and Mohammedanism, and in some respects Buddhism, and some other religions also.

In conclusion, the author of the *Kin shih tsuy peen* gives his criticisms on the opinions of the various authors quoted; from which we extract a few sentences: "We have now examined the investigations which have been made regarding the source and spread of the Illustrious religion of this tablet. In the Tseen-yen Appendices it is said, 'Now Jesus the Lord of Heaven is worshipped by Europeans. Some say this is the ancient religion of (Ta-tsin) Syria.' On the tablet, there is the expression, 'He appointed the cross as the means for determining the four cardinal points.' Now Roman Catholics' always raising the hand and making the sign of the cross, exactly agrees with the words of the tablet." Again, "The tablet speaks of 'The Most Virtuous Alopun from the country of Syria.' The Record of the Western Regions, given in the two histories of the Tang dynasty, in their accounts of the various kingdoms, state that (Fuh-lin) Judea is also named (Ta-tsin) Syria, but they do not give a single word respecting the introduction of the Illustrious religion into China." Again, "This tablet says 'The unchangeably *chin*, *true*, and invisible,' 'Veiling his *true* dignity,' 'In clear day, he ascended to his *true* station,' 'The *true* and unchangeable doctrine,' 'Observing the azure clouds, he bore the *true* sacred books.' Here is the word *chin*, *true*, used in profusion. Now when Mohammedan halls are built, they are called Houses of Worship: but why are they also called Temples of the *True* Religion? Now the Mohammedān religion is unquestionably an offshoot from the Illustrious religion; but while in some things they are similar, in others they differ. In consequence of the difficulty of understanding these religions, I have not been able to separate these things; and so have presented the various discussions on the subject, to afford the means of more extensive inquiry. As to the meaning of the word *king*, Illustrious, in the Illustrious religion of the tablet, there are two passages in the inscription, viz. 'A *king*, bright, *suh*, constellation, announced the felicitous event;' and 'He suspended the *king*, bright, *jih*, sun, to invade the chambers of darkness.' There is a mutual agreement in meaning here with *king sing*, the bright star, and *king kwang lin chaou*, the bright glory reflecting its lustre; but *ping*

being a name of the Imperial family during the Tang dynasty, there is also a possibility that the word *king* may have been substituted for it."*

In the *Teen yih ko shoo muh*, Catalogue *Raisonné* of the Library of the Fan Family at Ningpo, published by Yuen Yuen, the Governor of Che-keang; in 1809, there is a supplementary volume containing a list of the impressions of tablets in the establishment; on the 10th page we find there is a copy of the "Tablet commemorating the propagation of the Illustrious religion in China; composed by the priest King-tsing; written in the square character by Lew Sew-yen; set up in the 1st month of the year 781." On the 40th page, among the additions, there is again noted a copy of the "Tablet eulogizing the propagation of the Illustrious religion in China; composed by the priest King-tsing, and written by Lew Sew-yen; in the year 782." This last date is doubtless a typographical error for 781.

The *Hae kwo too che*, Geography of the World, the joint production of the well-known Commissioner Lin, and Wei Yuen, an officer at court, one of the most popular works that have been published of late, first appeared in 1844, and soon passed through several editions. The 15th volume, which professes to be a descriptive account of Judea, is devoted almost exclusively to a discussion of the Christian religion, in which the author takes frequent occasion to exhibit the spirit of bitter animosity which he cherishes toward that religion. A large portion of the whole is allotted to the examination of the Syrian tablet, which is given almost entire; and most of what is contained in the *Kin shih tsuy peen* is here reproduced, the author thus, as it were, endorsing the expression of confidence in the existence and authenticity of the record; while not the most remote hint of suspicion to the contrary ever appears. Some additional extracts and remarks are also given on the same subject. We select

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* The idea which the author wishes to present here, is the identity of this sect with the Parsees or fire-worshippers; hence supposing the proper word for their name was *ping*, "Illumination from fire;" but as this character formed the name of one of the emperors of the Tang, according to Chinese custom, no one else was permitted to use it, and hence they substituted *king*, a word of similar import. This is one of those vain speculations, in which Chinese authors frequently indulge their imaginations, though there does not appear to be any evidence to support the supposition.

a few lines of a quotation from the *Kwei-sze luy kaou*, Journal of Varieties for the 13th year of Taou Kwang, by Yu See, an inferior government officer. The author's remarks are of little critical value, and he shows great inaptitude in dealing with the subject in hand, although he appears tolerably correct in the detail of isolated facts. His chief aim is to show that the Christian religion is the natural offspring of Buddhism. He says, "Jesus was born in the 2nd year of the term Yuen-show of the emperor Gae Te of the Han dynasty. A bright star announced the glad tidings in the land of Judea. In the 2nd year of Keen-chung (781), of the Tang dynasty, King-tsing, the priest of the Syrian church, set up the tablet commemorating the promulgation of the Illustrious religion in China, whence we hear of the first erection of Syrian churches, in the 7th month of the 12th year of Chin-kwan (638). The tablet speaks of the 'Triune and mysterious in substance, the eternal true Lord God;' again, it denominates his mother the 'Triune, divided in nature, Illustrious and Honorable Messiah;'* and says that 'a virgin gave birth to the Holy One in Syria.' Again it speaks of 'Aloho (God),' 'Preserving their beards and shaving their crowns,' 'Seven times a day having worship and praise,' and 'Sacrificing once in seven days:' These things, like the Manichean observances, after the Tang dynasty, are never mentioned in the histories of the Sung and Yuen."

In a recent work, *Kwo chaou she jin ching leo*, Illustrations of the Poets of the Present Dynasty, by Chang Wei-ping, of Pwan-yu, the 47th volume of the 2nd section, which gives a brief abstract of the geography of foreign nations, has the following remarks on the 24th page, respecting the cross mentioned on the Tang tablet. "He appointed the cross as the means for determining the four cardinal points; he moved the original spirit, and produced the two principles of nature (See the Tang tablet of the Propagation of the Illustrious religion). The tablet of the Illustrious religion, speaking of the cross, says, 'He appointed the cross as the means for determining the four cardinal points.' (Jour-

* The blunder in the interpretation of the inscription is unpardonable in a native author, unless we make very great allowance for the doctrinal difficulties connected with the subject.

nal of Varieties, for the 13th year of Taou-kwang.) As Aloni and Verbiest, two Europeans, both adopt the tablet of the Illustrious religion as an evidence in their favor, when Yu See refers the origin of the cross to the tablet of the Illustrious religion, where it says, 'He appointed the cross as the means for determining the four cardinal points,' this is not altogether inapplicable; but what is meant by appointing the cross is not well defined. Now when we examine the Arabian Geographical Classic, we become perfectly clear on the meaning of the cross. I have appended some quotations from this in the sequel. (Leisure sayings of the old fisherman.)"

The *Ying hwan che leo*, Compendious Description of the World, the most recent native work on geography, has repeatedly called forth the commendations of foreigners, for the liberal and impartial manner in which the author treats his subject, and was reviewed at some length in some of the early numbers of the *North-China Herald*. In the 3rd volume, when describing Persia, the author takes occasion to introduce the subject of the Nestorian tablet. After discoursing on various ancient religions, supposed to have originated in Persia, he proceeds, "There is also the tablet recording the propagation of the Illustrious religion in China, as related by King-tsing, a priest of the Syrian church, A. D. 781." Again, "The tablet of the Illustrious religion is still more lying and extravagant; the Illustrious religion is the sect of Fire-worshippers. Where it says, 'A *bright* star announced the felicitous event,' 'He suspended the *bright* sun, to invade the chambers of darkness,' 'In *clear* day, he ascended to his true station, &c.,' the allusions are all to the solar *fire*. Again, where it says, 'He appointed the cross as the means for determining the four cardinal points,' 'Once in seven days, they sacrifice, &c.,' it drags in the Roman Catholic religion. Where it speaks of 'The triune and mysterious in substance, the eternal true Lord Aloho (God),' we do not know who is meant, these being all conventional terms. But this is merely a dressing up of the dregs of Buddhism; it is not the Fire-sect; it is not the (Teen) Heaven-sect; it is not the Buddhist sect; in fine, there is no name by which to classify this religion. For the Persians, in worshipping the spirit of fire, adhere to their ancient usage; while Buddhism was practised in India,

it was their neighbor on the east; and the religion of the spirit of Heaven, prevailing in Syria, was their neighbor on the west; so that in the time of the Tang dynasty, the Roman Catholic religion being then flourishing in Syria, it was the craft of the foreign priests, to drag the three religions into combination, and invent the name of the Illustrious religion in order to exalt themselves; so that the Chinese, not understanding their origin and ramifications, might be blindly led to adopt their faith; thus verifying the saying of Chang-le, that they are only desirous of hearing something strange. Again the tablet says, 'In A. D. 638, the Greatly-virtuous Alopun, of the kingdom of Syria, came from afar, bringing the sacred books and images, which he presented at the chief capital.' If Alopun really came from Syria, then his religion was the Roman Catholic, without doubt; his sacred books should be the Bible and Gospels, which have been handed down in Europe, and his images those of Jesus on the cross; but we have not heard of these being in existence at that time; and when the Illustrious religion is said to stand side by side with the fire-spirit of the Persians, and to be merely a decoration of the schools of Buddhism, this is inexplicable."

Thus far, we have been particular in giving our authorities, that others, wishing to do so, may be able to verify the statements; for they are all taken from books within the reach of almost every person in China. Those who have access to more extensive stores of native literature, would no doubt be able to add a great accumulation of evidence. The above extracts will be sufficient, however, to show that there is but one voice among the Chinese as to the authenticity of this remarkable monument, for there is nothing on the other side of the question knowingly withheld. Besides this, if we consider carefully the subject of the inscription, it may still further aid us in forming a correct judgment.

According to history, the Nestorian schism took place in the beginning of the fifth century, and the members of this sect soon distinguished themselves by their zealous endeavors to propagate the faith through various countries. Their chief seminary, at Edessa in Mesopotamia, became famed as the centre of an extensive system of missionary influence. About the close of the same century, this was transferred to Nisibis, where it enjoyed the patronage of the Persian

monarchs, and was instrumental in sending many divines through the countries of Eastern Asia, with the special object of converting the people to the knowledge and faith of Christianity.

Although we meet with indisputable traces of their persevering efforts in the countries of the east during the succeeding centuries, yet the circumstantial details left on record are meagre in the extreme. We have reason to believe, however, that a succession of these zealous men continued to travel eastward with this single purpose in view; and especially about the time indicated on the tablet, when Mohammedanism was making rapid strides throughout Western Asia, having just subdued the kingdom of Persia, might we naturally look for parties of these religionists, seeking refuge in distant lands, forced from their homes by the persecuting zeal of the Mussulmans. According to the testimony of Chinese scholars, the traces of the existence of these foreign sectaries have been wilfully excluded from the national histories, and, unless it be on the more durable mementos of the stone tablets, we can only get a clue to them in an indirect way. When, however, these indirect testimonies harmonize with and corroborate the tablets, there is little danger of being misled; and it may be noticed that where a discrepancy exists, it is customary with the natives to correct their histories by the tablets.

In the Appendices to the Tseen-yen Hall Tablets there is an extract from the *Chung-yen sze pae*, Tablet of the Chung-yen Monastery, composed by Shoo Yuen-yu, in the ninth century, as follows: "Among the miscellaneous foreigners who arrived, there were the Manicheans, the *Ta tsin*, 'Syrians,' and the worshippers of the Spirit of Heaven.* The temples of these three classes of foreigners throughout the empire, are not equal in number to those of our Buddhists in one small district." A search through several works on ancient monuments and inscriptions has failed to discover this tablet, but there is no doubt of its existence, as it is quoted over and over again by other writers; the author of the inscription is a prominent character in history, having been censor during the reign of Wan-tsung.

* The tablet has *Tsew shin*, The Spirit of Autumn; but the author who makes the extract says that the character *tsew* is cut by mistake for *heen*, "heaven," in which he is doubtless correct.

That the religions of the west, inclusive of the one now in question, had gained a prominent standing in the empire towards the middle of the eighth century, we know from the imperial edict of Heuen-sung, from which an extract is given in the *Tsih foo yuen kwei*, Great Tortoise of the National Archives, a book in 1000 volumes, published by imperial command, in the year 1012. It states* that, "In the year A. D. 746, in the 9th month, an edict was issued, saying, 'The religion of the Persian classics, having come from Syria, has now been long handed down and practised in China. When its votaries first erected their temples, they gave them their own national name. Henceforth, to enable others to trace their origin, let all the Persian temples belonging to the two capitals have their name changed to that of Syrian temples; and let this be complied with through all the provinces of the empire.'" The same extract is found in the *Se ke tsung yu*, West-brook Collected Sayings, published by Yaou Kwae, during the Sung dynasty, which also notices several other immigrations of foreign religions (not Buddhist) about the same period; one as early as A. D. 632.

Tseen, in his Inquiry into the Illustrious Religion, quotes the following passage from the *Chang-gan che*, Topography of Chang-gan,† published by Min Kew, in the Sung dynasty. "On the northeast of the E-ning portal street, is a Persian foreign temple, which the emperor Tae-tsung caused to be erected for the Syrian foreign priest Alosze‡ in the year A. D. 639." Again, "To the east of the Le-tseen portal there is an ancient Persian temple; this is the Persian temple that Pei-loo-sze the Persian monarch requested to have erected, in the year A. D. 677."

In a fragment of a work by Wei Shuh, of the Tang dynasty, the *Leang king sin ke*, New Record of the Two Capitals, there is also a notice of this last-mentioned temple. Only the third out of five volumes of this work is extant, and that incomplete; but what remains, being a description

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* Vol. 51, page 20.

† Chang-gan is the ancient name of Se-gan.

‡ The tablet gives *Alopun*. Perhaps *Alosze* may be a different form of the same name; or the author of the Topography may have fallen into an error in quoting from memory, which is a common occurrence; or, which is most likely, it is a typographical error.

of Chang-gan, notices the existence of several of these foreign temples, and has been republished in the *Yih tsun tsung shoo*, Repository of Relics. It says, "On the south-east of Cross street is a Persian temple. This Persian temple was erected in the year 677, at the request of the Persian monarch Peih-loo-sze." Again, "On the northeast of Cross street is a Persian foreign temple; south from this is called the Keu-tih Way." Whether these last may have been Parsee or Christian edifices, is not easy to determine now, as it was customary at that time to apply the name of Persian to the temples of all the different sects which came to China from that quarter.

The frequency and precision with which names of places and persons, together with dates, are employed in any document, have been considered a fair test of its genuineness; as experience has shown that cases of imposture are marked by extreme vagueness in this respect. This we might naturally expect, when we consider the intricate labyrinth which the mention of even a few historical incidents involves. Where, however, the facts so mentioned mutually support and throw light on each other, and where not only the open assertions, but the more latent inferences, preserve a general consistency together, and harmonize with known history, this must form a strong chain of presumptive evidence in favor of the document in question. Applying this test to the Nestorian monument, we find almost every line marked by some historical date, some geographical allusion, or the notice of some custom; and in drawing attention to a few of these, it will be observed that while there is no single quotation, which, taken as an isolated statement, might not perhaps be introduced by a modern hand, yet the harmonious sequence in a long train of facts is such as a forger would scarcely manage without tripping in some matter.

The tablet, speaking of the priest Alopun, says, "In the year A. D. 635, he arrived at Chang-gan; the Emperor sent his prime minister Duke Fang Heuen-ling, who, taking his subordinates to the west border, conducted his guest into the interior." On referring to the *Tang shoo*, History of the Tang Dynasty,* we find Fang Heuen-ling spoken of as one of the earliest and most attached servants of Tae-tsung,

* Biographical section, vol. 16.

the founder. Born in 580, being the son of a government-officer under the declining Suy dynasty, he foresaw at an early age the downfall of the reigning house, and resolved to cast in his lot with the new aspirant. His attachment to his prince, and his qualifications as a statesman, soon procured his promotion. In 627, when Tae-tsung assumed the imperial dignity, Heuen-ling was made Duke of Hing, and in 631 he was promoted to the Dukedom of Wei. In 635, the year he is spoken of on the tablet, being that also of the demise of Kaou-tsoo, the father of the emperor, we find him receiving the confidential commission of an appointment to superintend the operations at the royal sepulchre; and at the same time, an acknowledgement of his merit in the additional title of Triumvirate Associate of the Rising State, and also an emolument equal to the revenue arising from thirteen hundred people. During an incursion of the Too-kuh-hwan Tartars the same year, Fang Heuen-ling is spoken of as holding audiences of great importance, on behalf of the emperor.

The tablet states, "In the year A. D. 699, the Buddhists, gaining power, raised their voices in the eastern metropolis." This apparently alludes to some act of intolerance practised by the Buddhists towards the Christians; but history makes no mention of this; an attentive consideration of the state of affairs, however, at that period, will show that such is by no means an improbable event. It should be borne in mind that this was during an interregnum in the Tang dynasty. On the death of the emperor Kaou-tsung, in 684, his empress, named Woo, seized the reins of government, and assumed the supreme power, with the appellation of Tsih-teen. Fixing upon Lo-yang, the eastern capital, as the seat of government, she banished the rightful heir to the throne, and changed the name of the dynasty from Tang to Chow. This princess, in her early days, having submitted to the Buddhist tonsure, was admitted as an inmate of a nunnery, whence she was taken by Kaou-tsung to be his consort, and eventually empress. While residing in this religious establishment, her mental character and tastes probably received much of that bias which particularly marked her after progress. Once alone, and free to sway the imperial sceptre, her partiality for the Buddhists soon developed itself, in the liberal patronage she bestowed upon that class. Much of

the state-revenue was expended in building religious houses, and casting brazen images; and it was only at the importunate solicitation of an influential minister, Teih Jin-kee, that she was dissuaded from going in state to visit a pagoda containing relics of Buddha, at the request of a foreign priest. When about to proceed, Teih Jin-kee cast himself on the ground before her, imploring her, as she cared for the national welfare, to desist; the desired effect was thus obtained.* This took place in 699, the year referred to on the tablet, and may show the great influence the Buddhists had then obtained at court. Shortly after this, we find a spirited memorial presented by Jin-kee, in which he examines in detail the various measures adopted by her majesty in reference to the Buddhists, and sets forth with a degree of freedom the national calamities which such a course was likely to produce.† In 705 the government of this princess was overthrown, and the Tang succession was resumed in the person of Chung-tsung.

The tablet again says, "In the year A. D. 713, some low fellows excited ridicule, and spread slanders in the western capital." Respecting the persecution here hinted at, history is entirely silent, as it is about almost everything connected with this sect. All we can assert is that there is nothing improbable in the statement.

On the tablet we read, "The high-principled emperor Heuen-tsung caused the Prince of Ning and others, five princes in all, personally to visit the felicitous edifice." From the Tang history, again, we learn that the Prince of Ning was the elder brother of Heuen-tsung, and had given way to the latter in the imperial succession. He was promoted to the princedom of Ning in the year 716. Besides these two, the emperor Juy-tsung had four other sons, the Prince of Shin, the Prince of Ke, the Prince of See, and the Prince of Suy. When Heuen-tsung arrived at Chang-gan from Lo-yang, in 701, he appointed a residence for his five brothers in the Hing-king Way, and named it the Residence of the Five Princes. These six brothers appear to have lived together on the most amicable terms, the intercourse

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* *Tung keen kang muh*, vol. 42.

† *Tang shoo*, Biographical section, vol. 39.

of the emperor with the other five being frequent and harmonious.*

Again, the tablet states, "In 742, orders were given to the great general Kaou Leih-sze, to send the five sacred portraits (of the Tang emperors), and have them placed in the church, and a gift of a hundred pieces of silk accompanied these pictures of intelligence." In the section of the Tang history devoted to the Biography of Eunuchs, Kaou Leih-sze occupies the second place on the list. From this memoir we learn that he was a native of Pwan-chow, originally surnamed Fung; that he was born near the end of the seventh century, and, having become a eunuch, was admitted into the palace in his youth; that some time after, he was adopted as the son of an officer in the palace named Kaou Yen-fuh, whence he assumed the surname Kaou. The great favor he enjoyed with Heuen-tsung may be inferred from a remark which that emperor was in the habit of making, "When Leih-sze is in attendance, I can sleep in security;" hence, the biographer adds, he was constantly in the palace, only going out on rare occasions. In 741, he was made Army-controlling Great General, and also Guardian-of-the-right-palace-door Great General, being at the same time promoted to the dukedom of Po-hae.† In the biography of the Prince of Ning, it is said that on the death of that prince, in 741, the Great General Kaou Leih-sze was deputed to place on his shrine an inscription written by the emperor.‡ Heuen-tsung being the sixth of the Tang dynasty, the five sacred portraits alluded to must be those of the preceding five emperors, Kaou-tsoo, Tae-tsung, Kaou-tsung, Chung-tsung, and Juy-tsung.

The tablet says, "When the Duke Koh Tsze-e, secondary minister of state, and prince of Fun-yang, first conducted the military in the northern region, &c." In the Tang history there is a long biography of Koh Tsze-e, from which it may be seen that he was one of the principal historical personages of the period. According to this, he was born in Hwa-chow in 696, and was made Military Commissioner for *So-fang*, the Northern Region, in 755, on occasion of a

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* *Tang shoo*, Biographical section, vol. 45.
† Ibid., vol. 134.
‡ Ibid., vol. 45.

revolt by Gan Luh-shan, a general under the imperial government, in the suppression of which he took a very active part; and, as a reward for his service, was created Duke of Tae-kwoh in 757. In the beginning of 762, he was made *Fun-yang keun wang*, Prince of Fun-yang, and was still alive at the date of the inscription, having died in the sixth month of the same year, at the venerable age of 85.*

Among the geographical allusions on the tablet, the name of most frequent occurrence is *Ta-tsin*, which we have translated Syria, as there is little room for doubt that this is the term most applicable to the eight several occasions on which the name is introduced. That the author of the inscription himself had not a very clear notion of the country indicated, one may be inclined to surmise from the quotation which he introduces from the Chinese historical books, written several centuries prior to the period in question. A reference to the histories of the Han and Wei dynasties, as indicated, proves peculiarly unsatisfactory in determining the precise country intended. The information furnished by these authorities has the appearance of a miscellaneous collection of statements from various sources; it being left to the sagacity of the reader to discriminate between that which is trustworthy, and a part which evidently borders on the fabulous. A statement in the History of the After Han points unequivocally to the Roman empire as *Ta-tsin*, it being said that the emperor Gan-tun (Anthony) sent an ambassador to China, A. D. 166. Other parts of the account, however, are exceedingly difficult to reconcile, and it is scarcely probable that the Nestorian missionaries would select Rome as a national designation for their church. The accounts may be somewhat harmonized by supposing that, as Syria once formed a part of the Roman empire, the name and glory of that great empire may have attached to it, in oriental history, down to later times. The After Han History corroborates, in the main, the description of *Ta-tsin* given on the tablet; we find it there stated that the country is famed for its coral, curious gems, fire-proof cloth, life-restoring incense, bright-moon pearls, and night-lustre gems. It is also stated that the country is entirely free from alarms, robbery, theft, and brigandage. The care of the sovereign in the adminis-

* Biographical section, vol. 70.

tration of justice is noticed, and the practice of selecting the princes on account of their virtues, as also the great extent of the land. But while the tablet states that "on the west it extends towards the borders of the immortals and the flowery forests; on the east it lies open to the violent winds and weak waters," the Han History on the contrary says, "To the west of this kingdom are the weak waters and moving sands,* near to the residence of the *Se wang moo*, 'Mother of the western king,' almost at the place where the sun sets."† The account of *Ta-tsin* in the Wei history is substantially the same as in that of the Han, but much condensed. The author of the inscription, however, mentions another book on which he seems to have relied, *Se yih too ke*, Illustrated Memoir of the Western Regions. Although there is little probability of obtaining this work now, yet we find in the catalogue of books given in the cyclopædia *Yuh hae*,‡ that a work of that name is said to have been presented to the emperor in the year 661, by Wang Ming-yuen, who was sent as commissioner to Turkestan; which may reasonably be supposed to be the book referred to. On the heading to the tablet§ this is called "the Illustrious religion of *Ta-tsin*;" in the title to the inscription, King-tsing is said to be a "priest of the *Ta-tsin* church;" and in the emperor Tae-tsung's proclamation, he says, "let the proper authority build a *Ta-tsin* church in the capital in the E-ning Way." Now although it might be inferred that, in the first two of these instances, the name *Ta-tsin* must necessarily be used, in compliance with the edict issued by Heuen-tsung thirty-five years previously, "that all the temples of Persian origin should henceforth pass under that designation;" yet it cannot well be supposed that the same argument would apply to the imperial proclamation issued a hundred and seven

* This is an evident adaptation of one of the most ancient of Chinese traditions, which records that the residence of the *Se wang moo* is unapproachable, in consequence of its being surrounded by waters so weak as to be incapable of floating the lightest object, and sands which are continually shifting. The "weak waters and moving sands" are mentioned in the *Yu kung* chapter of the *Shoo-king*.

† *How Han shoo*, vol. 118.

‡ Vol. 16. p. 7.

§ In giving the translation of the inscription, in a previous part of this paper, the heading of the tablet was omitted; it consists of nine large characters in three lines, signifying, "Tablet of the dissemination in China of the Illustrious religion of Syria."

years prior to the said edict; hence we are naturally directed to Syria, as the cradle of this religion. It is said "the Most-virtuous Alopun arrived from the country of *Ta-tsin*," and Tae-tsung, in his proclamation, calls him "The Greatly-virtuous Alopun, of the kingdom of *Ta-tsin*." Again, the tablet says, "In 744 the priest Keih-ho, in the kingdom of *Ta-tsin*, looking towards the star (of China), was attracted by its transforming influence, &c." In reference to these it may be remarked, that although Nisibis was then the chief seat of the Nestorian church, yet Syria was still within their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, there being a metropolitan at Damascus, and also at Jerusalem. It is possible, however, from the loose way in which *Ta-tsin* is spoken of, that its limits may have been extended even far to the east of Syria. The only other instance in which *Ta-tsin* is mentioned, marks the spot intended with much greater precision even than all the others; where it is said, "a virgin gave birth to the Holy one in *Ta-tsin*," the birth of our Saviour leaves little room for question as to Syria being the locality alluded to. There is still, indeed, another reference on the tablet to the same locality, though, from the figurative language employed, it is much less definite than any of the above-mentioned instances. It is said, "At that time there was the chief priest Lo-han, the Greatly-virtuous Kie-leih, and others of noble estate from the *Kin fang*, 'golden regions.'" It is well known that the Chinese, in their cosmic theories, have allotted each of the four cardinal points respectively to one of their original elements, in which category the west is said to belong to gold; hence the force of the above paragraph, where by the "golden regions" appear to be meant the countries to the west of China.

The next geographical allusion on the stone reads, "a bright star announced the felicitous event, and *Po-sze*, 'Persians', observing the splendor, came to present tribute." This name was well known to the Chinese at that time, being the designation of an extensive sect then located in the empire, and the name of a nation with which they had held commercial and political intercourse for several centuries. The statement here is in admirable harmony with the general tradition of the early church, that the Magi or wise men mentioned in Matthew's gospel were no other than philosophers of the Parsee sect.

Farther down we read, "In the year A. D. 635, Alopun arrived at Chang-gan." This scarcely requires any remark, as it is well known that Chang-gan of the Tang dynasty is the modern Se-gan foo, where the stone was found, and where it is preserved to the present time; and although there is nothing in the inscription to indicate the locality of its erection, yet, were it left to conjecture, no place could be selected with a greater show of probability than this. Another allusion to the same place, however, occurs on the tablet, which is not so obvious to the foreign reader, who is unable to consult the Chinese original. We have translated it, "in the year A. D. 713, some low fellows excited ridicule, and spread slanders in the western capital." A translation by M. Léontiewski* gives, "and in the western state of Chao they attempted to decry it." An English translation in the Chinese Repository† gives, "and in Síkáu spread abroad slanderous reports." A French version by M. Dalquié‡ gives, "et la calomnièrent dans *Sy Kao* (c'est l' ancienne Cour du Roy *Uen uam* dans la Province de *Xen sy*)." A Latin version by Kircher§ gives, "calumniatique sunt in *Sy Kao* (antiqua est Regis *Uen uam* aula in *Xen sy* Prouincia)." While the last two of these versions are in error in saying that this was the residence of Wan-wang, the two preceding leave the locality undefined. The characters we have translated "western capital" are *Se Haou*, literally "western Haou;" Haou being the name of the site, within five or six miles of the present Se-gan, where Woo-wang established his court after the subjugation of the Shang dynasty, about the end of the twelfth century before the Christian era. In B. C. 196, Kaou-tsoo of the Han dynasty removed his court to this vicinity, then known as Chang-gan. Two years later, Hwuy-te, the next emperor, surrounded it with a wall, and raised it to the rank of a city. From that period down to the Tang, Chang-gan continued, with various intervals, to be occupied as the imperial residence.‖ It is known to be the practice of the literati to give the preference to the antique names of places in their elegant compositions; hence this designation of one of the two

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* See *The Cross and the Dragon*, p. 28.
‡ See *La Chine Illustrée.*
‖ *Chang-gan che*, vol. 1, pp. 1-4.
† For May, 1845.
§ See *China Illustrata.*

then existing metropolises. A singular corroboration appears to have come to light recently with respect to this site. The Syriac legend at the foot informs us that this tablet was set up by "the Lord Jazedbuzid, Priest and Vicar-episcopal of Cumdan, the royal city." Following this record are the names of four dignitaries in Syriac, the last of which is, "Gabriel, Priest, Archdeacon, and Ecclesiarch of Cumdan and Sarag." The Roman Catholic fathers were sorely puzzled to apply this name to any definite locality. While Renaudot, in his "Anciennes Relations," endeavors to prove this to be Nanking, Premare denies his position, in an article published in the "Lettres édifiantes;"* and it is only since the publication of Reinaud's Travels of the Arabians in China, that we learn that during the middle ages, the place known to the Arabs as Kumdân, was no other than Chang-gan.† If, then, this place was the Kumdân of Arabian travellers, no argument is required to identify it with Cumdan in the Nestorian inscription. A topical notice of Chang-gan occurs again in Tae-tsung's proclamation, which says, "let the proper authority build a Syrian church in the capital in the *E-ning fang*, 'E-ning Way.'" The fragmentary work above referred to, New Record of the Two Capitals, states‡ that, in the third street west from the imperial city, the third *fang* from the north end is called "*E-ning fang*,"§

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses.* Tome 3, p. 579. New edition. Paris.

† "On the genuineness of the so-called Nestorian Monument of Singan-fu," by Edward E. Salisbury, p. 413. Not having the original work at hand, we take this statement on the above authority.

‡ Page 14.

§ The *Chang-gan che* gives an elaborate detail of the streets and buildings in this ancient capital, from which we learn that the city was composed of three principal parts: 1st, the *Kung ching* or "Palatial city," 4 *le* in extent from east to west, and 2 *le* 270 paces from north to south; 2nd, the *Hwang ching* or "Imperial city," on the south of the preceding, 5 *le* 150 paces east to west, by 3 *le* 140 paces north to south, containing 7 streets longitudinally, and 5 transversely; 3rd, the *Wae koh ching* or "Suburban city," enclosing the two preceding on three sides, being 18 *le* 115 paces from east to west, and 15 *le* 175 paces from north to south. The whole of this space was parcelled out into *fangs* or solid squares, each square being equally divided by two streets, one longitudinally, and one transversely, in the form of a cross, and hence termed Cross streets; with the exception of those *fangs* to the south of the imperial city, in which there were no streets dividing them longitudinally. South of the imperial city, the space was occupied by four *fangs* from east to west, and nine from north to south, making thirty-six. On the east and west sides of the imperial city respectively, were thirteen *fangs*, extending the whole length from north to south of the suburban city, while the breadth of each was occupied by three *fangs*.

and remarks on the next page, that "on the north-east of Cross street is a Persian foreign temple."* The *Chang-gan che* states† that the original name of this was *He-kwang fang*, but was changed to *E-ning fang* in 617, the national designation for that year being *E-ning*. Another local allusion runs thus, "The emperor commanded the priest Lo-han, the priest Poo-lun, and others, seven in all, together with the Greatly-virtuous Keih-ho, to perform a service of merit in the *Hing-king kung*, 'Hing-king palace.'" In the *Chang-gan che*‡ we find, that on the east side of the 3rd street east of the imperial city, the 4th *fang* from the north end was originally called *Lung-king fang*, but the name was changed to *Hing-king fang* on the accession of the emperor Heuen-tsung, in 713. Within this *fang* was the residence of the five brothers of Heuen-tsung. As the inscription reads, we are led to believe that the occurrence there noticed took place in 741, or shortly after. Now on referring to the *Tsih foo yuen kwei*, under the section on Imperial residences,§ we find it recorded, "that in the year 714, the Prince of Sung‖ and his brothers memorialized the emperor, requesting that he would occupy their former residence in Chang-gan as a royal palace, which was henceforth by imperial decree designated the *Hing-king kung*, 'Hing-king palace,' and was decorated with mottoes written by the emperor. In 728, this palace was first used in transacting the business of the government." Frequent mention is made of this edifice in the history of that period. In the *Ta Ming yih tung che*, it is said to be five *le* southeast from the official residence of the Prefect of Se-gan foo.

One of those antithetical sentences with which the inscription abounds, and which has already been noticed, introduces another name requiring a word of explanation. It is, "In the year A. D. 699, the Buddhists, gaining power, raised their voices in the 'eastern metropolis.'" The char-

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* A quotation from the *Chang-gan che* in a preceding part of this paper, in which this temple is said to have been erected for the Syrian foreign priest Alosze, can leave no doubt as to this being the temple alluded to on the tablet.

† Vol. 10, p. 9.

‡ Vol. 9, p. 2.

§ Vol. 14, p. 8.

‖ This was the elder brother of the emperor. He was created Prince of Sung in 710, and promoted to be Prince of Ning in 716.

acters which we have translated "eastern metropolis" are *Tung Chow*, literally "eastern Chow." It has already been stated that the empire was at this time under the government of the empress Woo Tsih-teen, who had removed her residence from Chang-gan to Lo-yang* in Ho-nan. By reference to the *Lo-yang heen che*, Topography of Lo-yang,† we find the earliest notice of this city as a royal seat, during the reign of Ping-wang (B. C. 770—720) of the Chow dynasty, which monarch, it is said, being pressed by the western Tartars, fled from the capital Haou eastward, to the city of Lo, which was hence denominated Eastern Chow. That the dynasty of Woo Tsih-teen was also named Chow, might afford a still further reason for restoring the ancient appellation.

The next local reference is as follows, "The accomplished and enlightened emperor Suh-tsung rebuilt the Illustrious churches in Ling-woo and four other places." The Tang History states that this prince was proclaimed emperor at Ling-woo in 756, while his father was seeking refuge in the country now known as Sze-chuen, on occasion of the rebellion of Gan Lo-shan. Ling-woo is the present Ling-chow in Kan-suh. These five places are called *keun* on the tablet. This *keun* is the name of an ancient territorial division of the empire, which had changed its signification seven times previous to the Tang dynasty. According to the geographical section of the Tang History, about the year 618 the name *keun* was exchanged for that of *chow* throughout the empire; about 742, the name *chow* was again exchanged for *keun*; and in 757, being the second year of Suh-tsung, the term *keun* was finally abandoned, and *chow* again adopted instead.

The term *keun* occurs on one other occasion on the tablet, in the title of Koh Tsze-e, who is designated Prince of Fun-yang *keun*. Although this title was conferred in 762, five years after the geographical abandonment of the word *keun*, yet, as it is exactly confirmed by the biography of Koh-Tsze-e, there is no room to doubt its authenticity; the term being probably retained in titles of nobility long after the other application had ceased. Fun-yang, in the province of Shan-se, is still known by the same name.

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* Within the present Ho-nan foo, the capital of the province.

† Vol. 10, p. 1.

A little lower down there is another part of the empire referred to; "When the Duke Koh Tsze-e at first conducted the military in *So-fang*, 'the northern region,' &c." This is the present prefecture of Ning-hea in Kan-suh, which was known about the time spoken of, by the names of Hea-chow, So-fang, and Ning-so, one of the districts it included being also named So-fang. The same name occurs again in the title of the priest E-sze, who is called the Associated Secondary Military Commissioner for *So-fang*, "the northern region."

The last line states that this inscription was "written by Lew Sew-yen, formerly Military Superintendent for *Tae-chow*." This is the same as the present *Tae-chow* in Che-keang, which first received that name in 622.

Another geographical notice occurs on the Chinese part of the inscription, where it is said of the priest E-sze, that, "from the distant city of *Wang-shih*, 'Râjagṛiha,' he came to visit *Chung-hea*, 'China.'". *Wang-shih*, literally "Royal residence," which is also the translation of the Sanskrit word Râjagṛiha, is the name of a city on the banks of the Ganges, which occurs in several Buddhist works. In the cyclopedia *Fa yuen choo lin*,* an extract from the *Shih-urh yew king*, Classic of the Twelve Excursions, states that the city of *Lo yue-ke*, "Râjagṛiha," is called in the *Tsin yen*, "language of China," the city of "Wang-shih;" and that it is reported to have been the city where the first kings of *Mo-ka-to*, "Magadha," lived. The Buddhist traveller Heuen-tsang writes the name of this place *Ko-lo-chay-keih-le-he*, which is merely another orthography of Râjagṛiha. As this was one of the most important of the Buddhist cities in India, it is natural to suppose that E-sze was a Buddhist priest.

There are many precedents in the national literature, for the use of *Chung-hea* as a designation of China. We find this term as early as the third century, in an ode by Pan Koo, the historian of the Han; and the two parts of the name are used separately in the same sense, in the *Shoo-king*, one of the oldest books in existence. One of these, *Chung-kwo* "the middle kingdom," occurs in the Section *Tsze tsae* of that classic,† and has been retained unchanged down to the present time, more than 2,000 years, as an unfading tradition

* Vol. 44, p. 13.

† See Medhurst's translation of the *Shoo-King*, p. 240.

of those early times, when the ruling state was surrounded on all sides by a cluster of small feudatories, obedient to the commands of the sovereign. This name is also found twice on the tablet. The heading is, "Tablet of the dissemination in *Chung-kwo* of the Illustrious religion of Syria." The title gives, "Tablet eulogizing the propagation of the Illustrious religion in *Chung-kwo*." The name given for China on the Syriac portion of the tablet, is *Zinstan*. Those who discover China in the "land of Sinim," in Isaiah, will probably find here an independent testimony in favor of their view, while the arguments that have been brought forward on that question leave no doubt that *Zinstan* here applies to China. Kircher's China Illustrata may be consulted with advantage on the subject, and also an article on the "Land of Sinim" in the Chinese Repository for March, 1844. It may be noticed, moreover, that the name used for China in Buddhist books long anterior to the date of this monument, is *Che-na*.* In an extract from a Syriac breviary, given by Kircher, the name for China only differs by one letter from that on the tablet. In a subsequent part of the Syriac, the term *malche dizinio* occurs, which we have given "king of China;" but the more literal rendering would be "king of the Chinese."

In the Syriac subscription above noticed, the priest Gabriel is called Ecclesiarch of Cumdan and Sarag. It is very doubtful what place is here indicated by Sarag. Mosheim† says it is a city of southern China, quoting Ptolemy as his authority for the statement.

In a previous part of the subscription, mention is made of "Mailas, Priest of Balach, a city of Turkestan." We find in the work of Mosheim above quoted‡ a table taken from Assemani, of the metropolitan seats of the Nestorians, in which Turkestan forms the nineteenth on the list.

There is still another national appellation in the Syriac portion, where it is said, *Besanath alf utisaain vtarten diavanoiè;* "In the year of the Greeks one thousand and ninety-two." It will be observed that the name *Iavanoiè* (Ionians) employed here for the Greek nation, from *Javan*

* See *Notices of Chinese Buddhism*, by Rev. J. Edkins, in the *Shanghae Almanac* for 1855.

† *Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*, Appendix, p. 28.

‡ Appendix, p. 2.

the ancestor of the race, is quite in harmony with the usage of oriental literature, where this ancient term has been retained long after it was given up in the west.

Some official designations occur on the tablet, which it may not be out of place to mention. It is said, "the Emperor sent his *Tsae chin*, 'prime minister,' Duke Fang Heuen-ling." In the Tang History the same term *Tsae chin* is applied to the prime ministers. At the establishment of the Tang dynasty, the duties of the *Tsae seang*, "prime minister," were performed by the chief officers of the three *Sing*, "tribunals," denominated respectively *Chung-shoo ling*, "secondary minister of state," *She chung*, "imperial attendant," and *Shang-shoo ling*, "chief president;" who deliberated together respecting the government of the state, without the appointment of *Tsae seang* as a separate office. At a later period, the inferior ministers declined the duties of *Shang-shoo ling*, in consequence of the emperor Tae-tsung having himself formerly sustained that office. Hence the *Puh-yays* became chief officers of the *Shang-shoo sing*, "President's tribunal," and these with the *She chung* and *Chung-shoo ling* were entitled *Tsae seang*.* According to the biography of Fang Heuen-ling in the Tang History, he was made *Shang-shoo tso puh-yay*, "senior prime minister," in 630, five years previous to the time alluded to in the above quotation, which so far presents a perfect agreement with facts.

Lower down, we read, "When the Duke Koh Tsze-e, *Chung-shoo ling*, 'secondary minister of state,' &c." The office of *Chung-shoo ling* was first established during the Han dynasty, and underwent a variety of changes, both with regard to the incumbent duties and the name, previous to the Tang. At the commencement of that dynasty, the designation was *Nuy-she ling;* in 620, it was changed to *Chung-shoo ling*; in 662, this was abandoned for that of *Yew seang;* in 670, the name *Chung-shoo ling* was again restored; in 685, the name *Nuy she* was adopted instead; in 705, *Chung-shoo ling* was renewed; in 713, this was changed for *Tsze-we ling;* in 717, the name *Chung-shoo ling* was again adopted; and was once more changed to that of *Yew seang* in 742; this last was replaced by *Chung-shoo ling* in 757, the same year in which the Tang History informs us that Koh Tsze-e was promoted to that dignity, and just about the time

* *Wan heen tung kaou*, Antiquarian Researches, vol. 49, p. 5.

alluded to on the tablet, when he was gaining honors by the reduction of the insurgents in So-fang.

Again it is said, "In 742, orders were given to the *Ta tseang-keun*, 'Great General,' Kaou Leih-sze, &c.;" and his biography states that in the same year he was made *Kwan-keun ta tseang-keun*, "Army-controlling Great General," and *Yew keen-mun wei ta tseang-keun*, "Inferior-guardian-of-the-gate Great General." The *Ta tseang-keun* was a military title first used during the latter part of the third century B. C., and employed in later times, with a great variety of prefixes. We find the first mention of the *Kwan-keun ta tseang-keun* about the end of the fifth century, and after a number of changes the name was re-established in 637. The title *Yew keen-mun wei ta tseang-keun* was first used in 624.*

Again, the tablet has, "Our great benefactor the *Tsze tsze kea-sha seng*, 'Imperially-conferred-purple-gown Priest,' E-sze, *Kin tsze kwang-luh ta foo*, 'Titular Great Statesman of the Banqueting-house,' *Tung So-fang tsee-too foo sze*, 'Associated Secondary Military Commissioner for the Northern Region,' and *She Teen chung keen*, 'Examination Palace Overseer,' &c." Without hazarding a conjecture as to who this priest E-sze was, it seems evident, from the elaborate array of titles appended to his name, that the writer intended to mark it with peculiar honor. Near about the time indicated here, we find the practice commencing of the emperor's conferring gowns on members of the priesthood. The first notice of such occurs in 778, when, it is said, the emperor sent a purple robe on the occasion of the death of the foreign priest Sun-to. The following year, a gown was conferred on the priest Ko-tsing, as a special token of imperial favor.† Another instance of the same distinction occurs in the subscription at the foot of the tablet, where the Assistant Examiner is called the *Tsze tsze kea-sha*, "Imperially-conferred-purple-gown Priest." The reader of middle-age Chinese history does not need to be informed, that it was no rare occurrence for priests to occupy civil and military offices in the state during the Tang and preceding dynasties. Of the three titles here given, the first is merely an indication of rank, by which the bearer is entitled to a certain emolument from the state; the second is his title as an officer actively engaged

* *Tsih foo yeun kwei*, vol. 340, pp. 1, 5, 19, 20.
† Ibid., vol. 52, pp. 2, 3.

in the imperial service; and the third is an honorary title, which gives to the possessor a certain status in the capital, without any duties or emolument connected therewith.

Ta foo is a dignity of very old standing in China, having been used during the Shang dynasty, at least twelve centuries before the Christian era. The origin of *kwang-luh* as prefixed to titles is to be found in the *Paou jin*, "Caterer," of the Chow.* The name *kwang-luh* itself was first used about a century before the Christian era;† and the title *Kwang-luh ta foo* was established at the beginning of the third century after Christ.‡ Those who bore this title were privileged to wear a silver signet suspended from the waist by a blue tie; in 268 a new order was created, a grade higher, who wore a golden signet suspended by a purple tie, and were designated *Kin tsze kwang-luh ta foo*, while those of the old order were called *Yin tsing kwang-luh ta foo*.§

The *Tsee-too sze* was a military office introduced early in the seventh century, for the purpose of more effectually guarding the border territories; the first appointment having been made in 610.‖ With each *Tsee-too sze*, ten subordinate officers were appointed, with the title of *Tung tsee-too foo sze*.¶ The office of *So-fang tsee-too sze* was established in 721, with the object of keeping in check the Tartar hordes in the north.** Koh Tsze-e received this commission in 754;†† so that it is probable that E-sze received his appointment as *Tung So-fang tsee-too foo sze* soon after.

The office of *Teen chung keen* was first established by the Wei dynasty, towards the end of the third century, for the purpose of taking cognizance of various duties connected with the imperial household. The name underwent several changes previous to the Tang. In 662, it was changed to *Chung yu keen;* and in 670 the original name was restored, and continued to be used throughout the dynasty.‡‡ The practice of selecting a class of men by examination to fill the offices of government began with the Tang; and in 703 nominal offices were first conferred upon the successful can-

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* *Tsih foo yuen kwei*, vol. 620, p. 1.
† Ibid., vol. 620, p. 3.
‡ Ibid., vol. 620, p. 5.
§ Ibid., vol. 620, p. 10.
‖ *Wan heen tung kaou*, vol 59, p. 12.
¶ *Sin Tang shoo*, vol. 49, part 2, p. 4.
** *T'uh she fang yu ke yaou*, Geography of the Historians, vol. 5, p. 41.
†† *Tung keen kang muh*, vol. 44, p. 23.
‡‡ *Wan heen tung kaou*, vol. 57, p. 1.

didates, with the word *She*, "Examination," prefixed to the official title;* hence the designation of E-sze, *She teen chung keen.*

Another instance of the above-mentioned use of *She* occurs in the Chinese part of the subscription, where the Assistant Examiner is styled *She Tae-chang king*, Examination High Statesman of the Sacred Rites. The duties of the *Tae chang-king*, which are of very remote origin, appear to have arisen from a desire to propitiate the spiritual powers. So early as the time of the ancient emperor Shun, we find two officers, *Pih-e* and *Kwei*, appointed to take charge of the sacrificial rites, and of sacred music; and after more than a thousand years, the various charges connected with this branch of the public service during the Chow were all under the control of an officer styled the *Ta Tsung-pih*, or Minister of Rites. During the Tsin dynasty, which succeeded, the name was changed to *Fung-chang;* and this was again changed to *Tae-chang* at the commencement of the Han. From this to the Tang, the name was several times changed, the office being always deemed one of high importance in the government. In 661 *Tae-chang* was changed to *Fung-chang;* but *Tae-chang* was again adopted in 670; in 701 this was replaced by he title *Sze-le;* and in 704 *Tae-chang* was again restored, one officer with this title being termed *King*, while there were two inferiors named *Seaou king.*† But as the priest Ye-le, whose name is inscribed on the tablet, has the word *She* prefixed to his title, it is seen that the title was merely nominal in his case, indicating a degree of rank far inferior to that of the officer above spoken of.

The inscription is said to be "written by Lew Sew-yen, *Chaou e lang*, Secretary to Council, formerly *Sze sze san-keun*, Military Superintendent, for Tae-chow." The *Chaou e lang* was a supernumerary office established during the Suy, and continued throughout the Tang, but was not retained after the extinction of that dynasty.‡

The office of *Sze sze san keun* appears to have existed as early as the Han, but there is no record of the duties pertaining to it at that time. From the time of the Northern Tsie, the post was filled by those distinguished for merit.

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* *Sin Tang shoo*, vol. 45, p. 6.
† *Wan heen tung kaou*, vol. 55, p. 2.
‡ *Yen keen luy han*, vol. 97, p, 38.

During the Tang, they had charge of the construction of public buildings.*

The Chinese titles and designations of members of the hierarchy used on this tablet are all taken from the Buddhist vocabulary. Alopun, the Nestorian apostle, seems to have enjoyed great favor under both the emperors Tae-tsung and Kaou-tsung, by the latter of whom he was made *Chin-kwo ta fa choo*, Great Conservator of Doctrine for the Preservation of the State. The title *Chin-kwo* was conferred on various occasions during the Tang, not only on members of the priesthood, but also on military officers, as a high mark of honor, indicating a degree of merit. A monastery in the district of Wan-nien, in the capital, was also distinguished as the *Chin-kwo sze*. The title *Ta fa choo* is obviously of Buddhist origin. The title in full is apparently the equivalent of the Syriac title given on the right side of the Chinese inscription, *Papasi de Zinstan*, or Metropolitan of China; and if so, the priest Adam mentioned here must have been a successor of Alopun.

A class of officers subordinate to this is noticed in the ode, where it is said that in the time of Kaou-tsung "*Fa-choo*, Overseers of the Church, were appointed in due form;" and at the end, it is said "the *Fa choo* Ning-shoo had the charge of the congregations of the Illustrious in the east," at the time the inscription was written. The first name on the margin in Syriac is "Mar Johanan, *Apiscupo*." The identity of the Chinese *Fa choo* and the Syriac *Apiscupo* is no unreasonable supposition, both being appropriately translated by the term "Bishop."

Another name of office occurs in the Chinese subscription, in the title of the priest Ye-le, who is called *Sze-choo*, Chief Presbyter. In the Syriac subscription, the title *Curapiscupo* is four times applied to individuals, viz. to the priest Adam, to the priest Jidbuzad twice, and to the priest Sargis. The latter name, with the same title, again occurs among the Syriac names on the margin. The *Sze-choo* of the Chinese here naturally suggests itself as the translation of the Syriac *Curapiscupo*, giving the meaning of "Suffragan Bishop."

The term *Seng*, being the transfer of the Sanskrit *Sanga*, which is the common designation for Buddhist priests, is

* *Wan heen tung kaou*, vol. 63, p. 14.

used here in the title, where the composition is said to be the work of *King-tsing*, *Seng*, "priest," of the Syrian church. In Tae-tsung's proclamation, he orders that the Syrian church in the E-ning Way be governed by twenty-one *Seng*. The same word is used on six other occasions in the inscription with the same meaning; it is added to three names in the subscription; and fifty-nine names on the margin also have this term prefixed. The word *Kasiso* is used in the line of Syriac on the right side of the inscription, in the name Adam *Kasiso;* and five persons named in the Syriac part of the subscription are termed *Kasiso;* twenty-eight names on the margin also have this word appended. There is no doubt about the identity of the Chinese *Seng* and the Syriac *Kasiso*, the translation of both being "Priest."

On the inscription we read, again, that about the year 713, "there was the *Seng-show*, 'chief priest,' Lo-han, &c." In another place, Lo-hang is called simply a *Seng*, but the previous quotation evidently marks a superior station in the Church. Probably the Syriac of this term is to be found in the subscription, where the priest Gabriel is called *Risch* or "Ecclesiarch" of Cumdan and Sarag.

In Tae-tsung's proclamation, it is said, "The *Ta-tih*, 'Greatly-virtuous,' Alopun of the kingdom of Syria, &c." In an after part of the inscription, it is said that about the year 713 there was "the *Ta-tih* Kie-leih, &c." Lower down, the emperor Heuen-tsung is said to have commanded seven priests "together with the *Ta-tih* Keih-ho, to perform a service of merit, &c." Among the names on the margin, also, there is one "*Ta-tih* Yaou-lun." This *Ta-tih* is a term of very frequent occurrence in Buddhist books written during and previous to the Tang, being applied as a title of courtesy to the Buddhist priests. An instance occurs on the tablet commemorative of the Indian Buddhist priest Puh-kung, in Se-gan foo, which was erected the same year as the Nestorian tablet, according to the dates. In the title, he is called *Ta-tih Ho-shang*. We find something nearly corresponding to this also, in the use of the Syriac prefix *Mar*, "Lord." This occurs once in the single line down the left side of the inscription, in *Mar* John Joshua; twice in the Syriac subscription, in the names *Mar* Jazedbuzid and *Mar* Sergius; and five times in the margin, in the names *Mar* John, *Mar* Sergius three times, and *Mar* Joseph.

In the first instance where Alopun is mentioned on the tablet, he is called the *Shang-tih*, "Most-virtuous," Alopun, which appears to be merely an intensification of the preceding term.

Among the Chinese names on the margin is one styled "*Laou suh-ya* Keu-mo," where the title is equivalent to our "Doctor."

Some other Syriac titles occur among the names of ecclesiastical dignitaries. On the left-side line, we find *aba dabahotha Mar Hana Jesua katholika patriarchis*, "The Chief Father, Lord John Joshua, the Universal Patriarch." The identity of this with the title of the Patriarch of the Nestorians is at once obvious.

In the subscription, we have "Gabriel, *Arcodiakon*, 'Archdeacon;'" and the same title occurs again in the margin, in "Aggeus, Priest and *Arcodiakon* of the city of Cumdan."

Again, in the subscription, there is "Adam, *Meschamschòno*, 'Deacon.'"

It is deserving of remark, also, how the author has contrived to vary his expressions in noting the several dates, thus giving evidence of a master-hand in this style of composition. The first noticed is the arrival of Alopun, which took place in *Chin-kwan keu sze*, "the ninth year of *Chin-kwan*," this being the national name for the term of years beginning with the reign of Tae-tsung, A. D. 627, making the year in question 635. The word *sze*, which is employed here for year, was the term used for that purpose during the Shang, and is found in the history of that dynasty in the *Shoo-king*, B. C. 1753.*

A little lower it is said, that Tae-tsung issued the proclamation in *Shih urh nien tsew tsee yue*, "the twelfth year, autumn, in the seventh month." This corresponds to the year A. D. 638. The word *nien*, which represents year here, was first brought into use in the Chow dynasty, B. C. 1134.†

Again, it is stated, that "In *Shing-le nien*, 'the years of *Shing-le*,' the Buddhists, gaining power, &c." *Shing-le* is the name for the period commencing from the beginning of the Chinese year corresponding to our 698, and ending on

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* See Medhurst's *Shoo-king*, p. 140, &c.

† See Medhurst's *Shoo-king*, p. 182.

the fourth day of the fifth month in 700.* This was the fifteenth time the name had been changed during the reign of the empress Woo Tsih-teen.

Immediately following the last quotation, we read, "In *Seen-teen mo*, 'the end of *Seen-teen*,' &c." We find that the term *Seen-teen* lasted from the beginning of the eighth month in 712 till the last day of the eleventh month in 713; being just about the time of the accession of Heuen-tsung. On the first day of the twelfth month, the name of the whole year was changed to the "first of *Kae-yuen*," so that the name *Seen-teen* is omitted in some of the national chronologies.

Again it is said, "In *Teen-paou tsoo*, 'the beginning of *Teen-paou*,' orders were given to the Great General Kaou Leih-sze, &c." The term *Teen-paou* began on the first day of the first month of the year answering to our 742, which is no doubt the year alluded to here.

The next date mentioned is "In *San tsae*, 'the third year,' the priest Keih-ho in the kingdom of Syria, &c." It is a fact noted in the Chinese annals, that on the first day of the third year of *Teen-paou*, 744, the word *nien*, "year," was exchanged for *tsae*, which last continued to be used till the fourth day of the second month of the first year of *Keen-yuen*, 758, when it was abandoned for *nien* by authority of the emperor Suh-tsung. *Tsae* was the word used for year in the time of the ancient emperors Yaou and Shun, upwards of twenty-three centuries before the Christian era.†

The tablet is said to have been erected in *Keen-chung urh nien, suy tsae tso-yo, tae-tsuh yue, tseih jih, ta-yaou-san-wan jih*, "the second year of *Keen-chung*, the year being in the sign *tso-yo*; the month *tae-tsuh*, seventh day, being *ta-yaou-san-wan* day." The term *Keen-chung* began on the first day of the Chinese year answering to our 780, which makes the date on the stone, the second year, correspond to 781. The word *suy* for "year" appears to have been first used during the Hea, twenty-two centuries before the Christian era.‡ When the year is said to be in *tso-yo*, this is a tradition of an ancient practice, according to which the year was chronicled by the progress of the planet Jupiter through the twelve signs of the

* Where the date 699 is given above, it should be altered to correspond to this.

† See Medhurst's *Shoo-king*, p. 10.

‡ Ibid., p. 126.

zodiac. As it was found that the course of Jupiter through the whole circle occupied nearly twelve years, it was termed *suy sing*, "the year star," each of the twelve years having a special designation, according to the sign then occupied by the planet. These twelve designations were made to correspond with the terms of the duodenary cycle, *Tsze*, *Chow*, *Yin*, &c., and in order to counterbalance the deficiency caused by the more rapid progress of Jupiter, one term of the cycle out of every one hundred and forty-five was abandoned. But in the course of time, the accelerated velocity of Jupiter showed this to be insufficient, and, after the Western Han, the terms of the cycle were continued uninterruptedly, without regard to the place of Jupiter in the heavens. The same phraseology, however, has been preserved down to later times, although the law that gave rise to it was lost to the Chinese for many centuries, and has been only recently recovered by the researches of modern native scholars. So that when this formula is met with in Chinese documents later than the Han, it is only to be taken as a synonym of the ordinary terms of the cycle, and not as in any way indicative of the place of Jupiter at the time given. The name *tso-yo* is the equivalent of the term *yew*, the tenth in the cycle, being that of the date 781. The meaning of these twelve ancient designations is now unknown to the Chinese.*

The month is here called *Tae-tsuh*. This is a vestige of an extremely ancient terminology, to the origin of which it would be difficult to give a date. *Tae-tsuh* is the name of one of the twelve musical tubes; but these were also, by a special contrivance, used to determine the temperature of the earth during the twelve months of the year, and the seasons were fixed accordingly.† In an ancient calendar, *Yue ling*, found in the *Le ke*, or Book of Rites, the *Tae-tsuh* is called "the temperature tube of the first month of spring." Although these names have now gone out of general use in the calendar, the literati still frequently employ them as an embellishment to their compositions. The seventh day of this month is also called *Ta-yaou-san-wan* day. No satisfac-

* These are to be found in the *Urh-ya*, probably the most ancient dictionary in existence, composed more than a thousand years before the Christian era.

† The names and proportions of these twelve tubes may be seen in Medhurst's *Shoo-king*, p. 21.

tory explanation of this term has been given; it is possibly the name of some day peculiar to the sect. Some have given it as Sunday, which may be correct; for we find by calculation that the seventh day of the first month of that year, being February 4th, actually fell on a Sunday. An independent calculation of the same problem, by a Chinese, according to the native method, giving the same result, may be seen in the Hongkong Chinese Serial, *Hea urh kwei chin*, for September, 1855.

A further means of verifying this date is given in the Syriac at the foot, where the tablet is said to have been set up "in the year of the Greeks one thousand and ninety-two." There is no difficulty in identifying this date, for it is well known that the Greek, or Syro-Macedonian era, being the one used by the Syrians, Arabs, and Jews, commenced in the autumn of the year B. C. 312.* So that the 312th year of that era ended in the autumn of the year A. D. 1. Carrying the series down to the February of 781 brings it to about the middle of the year 1092 of the Greek era, exactly agreeing with the statement on the tablet.

Among the various doctrinal subjects which are touched upon in the introductory part of the inscription, there is one especially deserving of notice, as furnishing strong presumptive evidence of the Nestorian origin of this monument, where we find the expression, *Ngo san-yih fun-shin king tsun Me-she-ho*, "Our Triune, Divided-in-nature, Illustrious and Honorable Messiah;" and again, in the ode, it is said, *Fun-shin chuh tae*, "Divided in nature, he entered the world." The occurrence of the term *fun-shin*, "Divided in nature," twice in the inscription, is sufficient to attract attention, from the uncommon character of the expression; but when we remember the peculiar doctrines on account of which the Nestorians separated from the church of Rome, we can have very little doubt as to the origin of this term. For, had the inscription been composed by partizans of the Roman church, we cannot conceive that they would have been so inconsiderate as to employ an expression which, although by a forced interpretation they might accede to it, yet would always be liable to construction in favor of the doctrine which they termed heresy; and that too just at

* See Prideaux's *Old and New Testament connected*, vol. 1, p. 514.

the time when their opponents were making great efforts, and spreading widely through the countries of the east. For the same reason, there is as little ground to think that it was composed by Roman Catholics of later times, as some are prone to believe; for, had it been so, it is incredible that they would designedly introduce an element calculated to overthrow the fact it was their intention to establish. The Jesuit Father Kircher has written a work to prove the genuineness of this tablet, in which he speaks of the Syrian preachers as tainted with the heresy of the detestable Nestorius.* The characters *fun-shin* cannot be taken in the sense of "to give a body," as some have suggested; for although in some cases *fun* may mean "to distribute," yet the violence done to the language by such a rendering here is too obvious to be admitted. The Chinese language is not wanting in terms fully to express such an idea; while, were a concise term descriptive of the Nestorian tenet required, it is doubtful whether a more adequate expression could be selected than *fun-shin*.

It should be observed that, in the second of the above phrases, the word *tae* is used instead of *she*, which is the usual term; this phraseology is peculiar to the Tang, and was employed in consequence of *she* being one of the characters in the name of the emperor Tae-tsung; his private name being *She-min*, and Chinese etiquette requiring that no subject of that dynasty should make use of such characters. This rule is observed even in the title of one of the succeeding emperors, who is designated Tae-tsung, while under other circumstances his title would have been She-tsung. The same remark will apply to a sentence in the former part of the inscription, where it is said *Tung jin chuh tae*, "he appeared in the world as a man."

It has been remarked that, for aught that there is peculiar to Nestorianism, the account of the incarnation might as well have proceeded from a partizan of the much disputed appellation *Theotokos*. But it may be added that, if there is nothing which can be viewed as peculiarly Nestorian in the plain scriptural account which is given, *Shih neu tan shing*, "a virgin gave birth to the Holy one," there is at least as little that can be taken controversially against the

* *La Chine Illustrée*, p. 76.

Nestorians, or even against the probability of its having emanated from them.

A Buddhist influence is observable in the term employed for "angel," *Shin teen;* the *teen* being the generic name for the various classes of *Devas*, or celestial beings, in the Buddhist mythology, and the qualifying term *shin* marking the essentially spiritual character of the agent.

Some interesting notes respecting the sacred Scriptures are found in this inscription. After noticing the completion of the ancient dispensation, it speaks of the "preservation of twenty-seven Sacred Books," exactly the number we have in the New Testament. It states further that when Alopun arrived from Syria, "he brought the true Sacred Books," and adds, "the Sacred Books were translated in the imperial library." Tae-tsung also, in his proclamation, states that "Alopun has brought his Sacred Books and images from Syria, and presented them at our chief capital." In the ode, again, it is stated that "the Scriptures were translated, and churches built." From the prominent way in which the Scriptures are here mentioned on several occasions, it was probably considered a matter of importance with these Nestorian missionaries to have them disseminated among the Chinese. The mention of their being translated under imperial surveillance harmonizes very accurately with what history informs us of the state of translatorial labors about that time under the imperial patronage, the Buddhist traveller Heuen-tsang being engaged about the middle of the seventh century in his arduous labors on the Buddhist books, by special command. If the Scriptures were translated then, and there is no reason to doubt it, it is possible that some portion of this work may still be preserved in some of those depositories of literary treasures with which China abounds; no evidence of such a fact, however, has come to light in modern times. In the Lettres Édifiantes there is a notice by Gaubil, in 1752, of a manuscript being found in the possession of a Mohammedan, the descendant of Christian or Jewish ancestors from the west, written in characters almost the same as those on the Christian monument in Shen-se. This was carefully copied, and the fac-simile forwarded to Paris. It was afterwards examined by the Baron de Sacy, who pronounced it to be part of the Syriac version of the Old Testament, with hymns and prayers, written in the Estranghelo character.

As the chief objector in modern times to the genuineness of this tablet is C. F. Neumann, Professor of Chinese, it may be well to glance at the objections which he brings forward. He says,* "The authors of the inscription were Syrians, or at least of Syrian origin, and were in constant communication with the West: how then comes it, that they describe Tatschin (the West) precisely as Chinese geography under the Tang does? Have the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Dutch and English, in the monuments which they have left on foreign soil, described Europe and their father-land according to truth, or according to the fabulous views of foreign nations?" A very little reflection is sufficient to remove any difficulty on this point. The Chinese, from the earliest times, have always been careful to collect what information they could obtain respecting foreign nations, officers having been appointed whose special duty it was to attend to this; not indeed by long and perilous voyages of discovery, but by minutely inquiring, of the envoys from foreign parts, the national character and customs, the distance and extent of the countries, and a variety of particulars respecting the kingdoms to which they severally belonged; all which were chronicled in the state archives, every accession to the previous information being annexed to the national history at the close of each dynasty. By this means, together with the additional matter procured by several native travellers who visited foreign parts, the Chinese became possessed of a very respectable knowledge of other Asiatic nations, at a time when geographical science had certainly not made great progress in Europe; and indeed, to the present day, the most authentic account of some countries is to be found in the Chinese annals. Had the Nestorians, or other travellers from the west, during the Tang, brought with them any additional information of importance, the Chinese would certainly have availed themselves of it. But there is no reason to conclude that, because the authors of the inscription were of Syrian origin, they must therefore give an account of their father-land different from that found in the Chinese books, when

* We rely upon Professor Salisbury's paper on the Nestorian tablet, for the statement of these objections, which is given as a quotation from the *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, for 1830.

these books were correct in their general statements on the subject. The presumption is, that they would rather prefer such statements as the natives could at once recognize, thus more easily directing attention to that country which it was their object to point out. Although there may be some difficulty now in recognizing the various national features alluded to on the stone, yet there is no proof whatever that it is a false record. The Mohammedans in China are very numerous, and their ancestors were originally from the west; but we might look in vain among them for the preservation of any descriptions of the countries of their ancestors more authentic than other Chinese possess. The Jews have been resident in China for a much longer period, but no records have been preserved by them of the country whence they came.

Neumann proceeds, "Have the Chinese ever called India itself Tatschin, and was not the name given to the West, at the period of the inscription, Fulin?" It is not very obvious with what view the Professor introduces this sentence, as its tendency appears to be to nullify the force of the paragraph above noticed. But as this point seems to be given up in a later article from his pen, it is unnecessary to notice it, farther than to remark that, although the name Fulin is applied to that country in the Tang History, yet Ta-tsin was the name by which it was generally known in the early period of the dynasty, and down to much later times this name was used, as can easily be proved by a reference to native Chinese works of the period.

"Upon the chronological error in respect to the Syrian patriarchs (of three years), we will lay no particular stress; Rénaudot's ground is indeed untenable, for there was, especially under the Tang, much communication between eastern and western Asia." The error here hinted at is, that the date given on the stone, both according to the Chinese and the Syriac, being A. D. 781, February 4th, the name of the Nestorian Patriarch for the time is given as John Joshua, or Ananjesus, while history states that this Patriarch died in 778. It would be desirable to know at what period of the year his death took place, as, were it about the end of 778, the time elapsed between that and the date on the stone would not greatly exceed two years, instead of three; moreover, the probability is that this inscription was written

and cut some time before the date of its erection. Neumann speaks of there being much communication between eastern and western Asia during the Tang; but, in view of the information that can now be obtained on this subject, there is no ground to believe that reports were annually passing between Syria and China; indeed, considering the difficulties of such a hazardous enterprize, it is much more reasonable to assume that the arrival of strangers from the far west was a comparatively rare occurrence. Hence we see nothing forced in Rénaudot's supposition that the tidings of the Patriarch's death may not have reached the Christians in China when the monument was erected. Assemani's reference also is much to the point, when he draws attention to the fact that there is a letter now in the Vatican, which certain Nestorian bishops who had been sent to Malabar addressed to their Patriarch in Assyria about the year 1502, when he had been dead already two years. Another instance of a similar kind and more recent date may be cited, as more calculated to excite surprise, and yet of undoubted authenticity. Napier, the inventor of logarithms, died on the 4th April, 1617. On the 28th July, 1619, more than two years after his death, Kepler, who had not yet heard of this event, addressed a letter to him describing the progress of his astronomical tables, in consequence of the aid derived from logarithmic computation. This letter is preserved in the "Memoirs of John Napier of Murchiston," published in Edinburgh, 1834.*

"But never, never, would a Chinese emperor, in a public decree, have dared to say of a foreign doctrine: 'it must be published throughout the land,' without stirring up a revolt in the body of the nation, the Schukiao; never has a Chinese emperor caused the sacred Scriptures to be translated, and made known through the whole empire ('he specially commanded to publish it,' &c.); never has an emperor caused a church to be built in his capital, and never were there churches standing in every city. We deny all this so decidedly, because in Chinese history, where even the slightest inclination of the emperors to the Taosse and Buddhists is noticed, and blamed, not the remotest trace of it all is to

* This notice is taken from a review by Biot in the *Journal des Savans* for March, 1835.

be found. And let it now be considered what an emperor it is who found the doctrine of Olopen so excellent; it is the emperor who passes for a reinstator of the pure doctrine of Kong-tse, who declared: 'there is no salvation out of the doctrine of the perfect wise man.'" The above reasoning no doubt appears very conclusive to the Professor, but, unfortunately for his argument, we have a fact at hand which is of more weight than mere hypothesis. This imperial decree, which is so offensive in his sight, is actually found in almost the same terms in the forty-ninth volume of the *Tang hwuy yaou*, Collection of Important Matters of the Tang, a book published during the Sung, in 961, and now forming part of the imperial library *Sze koo chuen shoo*; the highest guarantee for its authenticity. The *Ping-tsin suh pae ke*, Ping-tsin Supplementary Tablet Memorial, published in 1813, quotes* this proclamation in full from the tablet, and adds, "This is substantially the same as that contained in the *Tang hwuy yaou*, except that the latter says 'the *Po-sze*, Persian, priest Alopun,' Persia being the original name of the kingdom of *Ta-tsin*. The *Chang-gan che* erroneously gives Alosze." Neumann objects to the statement that there were "churches standing in every city," but this is not exactly what the stone says; the expression is *Choo chow*, which may be translated "the various departments;" as *choo* does not always signify "without exception." Now this statement tallies remarkably with the extract from the imperial edict by Heuen-tsung, which we have already given, where it says, "let this be complied with *choo foo keun*, 'through the various departments.'" And the coincidence of the geographical terms here may be again noticed. As before remarked, the word *chow* was used from about 618 till 742, when it was exchanged for *foo* and *keun*. The first quotation being in the time of Kaou-tsung, who reigned from 650 to 683, it has the word *chow;* the second being in 745, the other terms are used in the same sense, which furnishes a strong collateral evidence of the truth of the former. Surely Professor Neumann has not read Chinese history very attentively, if he is ignorant of the great favors that have been conferred on the Buddhists at various times by the Chinese emperors; and in particular that this very Tae-tsung, whom he looks

* Vol. 7, p. 16.

upon as "the reinstator of the pure doctrine of Confucius," received with honors the Buddhist Heuen-tsang on his return from his travels, with more than six hundred of the Indian Buddhist sacred books, which this emperor set him to get translated, under his own immediate patronage.*

The fact that the Nestorian religion existed in China for many centuries is established upon such abundant evidence, and is so generally credited, that it would be superfluous to adduce any proof in answer to the doubts thrown out by Neumann; neither are the Syrian writers altogether silent on the subject, as his remarks would imply.

The last argument brought forward by the "leader of the opposition," as Professor Salisbury terms him, is "that both the Chinese and the Syriac characters of the inscription are modern, not such as were in use in the eighth century." Neumann is certainly a bold man to stake his sinological reputation on this statement. Were there no other evidence to testify to the genuineness of this inscription, still the style of the hand-writing would form an overpowering argument in its favor with every Chinese of any literary pretension. There is probably no people in the world who pay so much attention to the various delicate distinctions of different hands; so that it is difficult for a foreigner to understand the minute shades of touch by which they are able to classify, with an accuracy truly astonishing, not merely the several dynasties, but the various schools of writing under each dynasty. A long list of names is on record of those who have distinguished themselves in this art, from very early times down to the present day; and few Chinese gentlemen of any taste would think of being without a set of impressions taken from stone tablets, as specimens of their works. There is a class of caligraphers who make a particular study of these old specimens, and pride themselves on being able to imitate them with a great degree of accuracy; and none are more highly esteemed or closely studied than the productions of the Tang artists; yet with all their care and practice, it is generally admitted that a modern imitation by the most skilful hand can never deceive a connoisseur. One of the most famous of this class in modern times, named Wang Wan-che, has written a work called *Kwae-yu tang te*

* *Tsih foo yuen kwei*, vol. 51, p. 17.

po, Kwae-yu Hall Notes and Postscripts, containing notices of the most approved specimens of hand-writing, ancient and modern. On the tenth page of the third volume, noticing the Nestorian inscription, he says, "This tablet, inscribed by Lew Sew-yen, is a specimen of the style chiefly aimed at by Chaou *Yung luh*, and is distinguished among the hand-writings of the Tang for its extreme clearness, softness, elegance, and richness. The strokes of the characters on the tablet are slender, and not cut to a great depth; but the people of Shen-se, in rubbing impressions from it, have always lost sight of the excellence of its character, in consequence of the rarity of those who are clever at this work. When I paid a visit to Se-gan, Peih Tsew-fan holding office in Shense that same year, he took a general superintendence of the ancient tablets; this tablet was removed to the Kin-ching monastery, where he caused a building to be erected in which it was deposited, and gave it in charge to the head priest King-kwan, that people from other parts might not take impressions at pleasure. Having selected an expert workman, I had several fine impressions taken, and having obtained the exact form, I became conscious of a superiority in it which the former copies did not exhibit." These remarks are deserving of attention, as coming from a scholar who had attained the very highest rank. A great number of impressions must have been taken from this stone, for they are to be found in almost every city for sale, and every literary man of any standing knows the character of this inscription, and recognizes it as soon as he hears the name; and when the suggestion is made to the natives of the probability that it is a forgery, the unanimous reply is that such a thing was never known in China, and, furthermore, that it could not possibly pass undetected; or, were it attempted to pass off the Nestorian tablet for any date prior to, or later than, the Tang, it would be in vain, for the handwriting would at once betray the period to which it belonged. With respect to the Syriac portion of the inscription, Professor Salisbury will be admitted to be a competent witness, and we have it upon his authority that "the characters are unquestionably Estranghelo, Neumann's declaration to the contrary notwithstanding;"* nor will he be looked upon as

* On the Genuineness of the so-called Nestorian Monument, p. 410.

one biased in favor of the tablet, since he gives it as his opinion "that the Jesuits of China could, probably, have had the Syriac part of it made up in India."*

Not only are the Chinese characters formed in exact accordance with every specimen of the period in question, but the evidence arising from the style of the composition is equally conclusive. The terse antithetic style of the Tang writers, with the extreme paucity of particles, forms a very conspicuous stage in the history of Chinese literature; and rare indeed is the attainment of those who are able to imitate it. The differences in style between the writers of various ages are so extremely well defined in China, that it would be a very hazardous undertaking for any one to try to pass off his work for that of a former age, and it would be no common production that should pass muster before the keen practised eyes of native critics. The peculiarities of the Tang style are found very clearly marked in the Nestorian inscription, so as to afford the most convincing proof to the minds of native scholars. The influence of the three national religious sects may be traced in the phraseology. That the author was one of the literary class there is no room to doubt, as the work bespeaks one well versed in Confucian lore; while the various transfers, and marked allusions to a foreign faith, must give it an air of mystery to Chinese readers in general. This mystery, however, disappears to one who is acquainted with Christian doctrines; and he finds the tenets of the Christian faith clothed in an elegance of diction unobjectionable even to Chinese taste. Throughout the whole, there is an evident inclination to Buddhism, in the nomenclature adopted for the various ecclesiastical institutions; while Taouist phraseology and ideas are conspicuous in the imperial proclamation. This last peculiarity will be observed in most of the decrees of the Tang emperors, and is to be accounted for by the fact, that the imperial family looked upon Laou-keun, the founder of Taouism, as their ancestor, the name of both being Le.

We have thus glanced at the several points of evidence which appear to us most conspicuous, leaving out of view what is said on the subject by adherents of the Christian

* On the Genuineness of the so-called Nestorian Monument, p. 409.

faith, foreign or native. We have given extracts from seventeen different native authors (and the number might be easily enlarged) respecting this tablet, each of whom has something peculiar to say regarding it; but we have not been able to discover the slightest hint of a suspicion as to its genuineness or authenticity. The discovery also in a book of the Sung dynasty of the imperial proclamation it contains, and the record in two different works, one of the Sung and one of the Tang, of the existence of a foreign temple in the very spot indicated on the tablet, form a species of corroboration not to be overlooked; while the testimony of these works as to other foreign temples about that time is valuable collateral evidence.

The *Chang-gan che*, quoting from the earlier work, gives a summary of the religious edifices in that city during the Tang, viz.: "64 Buddhist monasteries, 27 Buddhist nunneries, 10 Taouist monasteries, 6 Taouist nunneries, 2 Persian temples, and 4 chapels of the Heaven-worshippers."* The imperial edict of 746, which is to be found in several Chinese books, speaks unmistakably of the increase of these foreign religions in China. By a decree issued in 845 by the emperor Woo-tsung, "all those belonging to the *Ta-tsin*, 'Syrian,' and *Muh-hoo*, 'Mohammedan,' religious orders were commanded to retire to private life, and such foreigners as might be among them to return to their own countries."†

In a narrative given by two Arabian travellers, it is stated that 120,000 Mohammedans, Jews, Christians, and Parsees were slain during a revolution at Canfu in China, in the year 877. These Christians must certainly have been Nestorians. During succeeding ages, the Nestorians of China are mentioned on various occasions by Rubruquis, Plan Carpin, Marco Polo, and others; and when the zealous Roman Catholic friar John de Monte Corvino arrived in China, in the thirteenth century, at the commencement of the Yuen, he met with a good deal of opposition from this party, some curious details respecting which are given in a MS. recently discovered in the Imperial Library at Paris. It is there said: "In the city of Cambalech there is a sort of Christian schismatics whom they call Nestorians. They observe the customs and manners of the Greek Church, and are not obedient to the Holy Church of Rome aforesaid." "These Nestorians, dwell-

* Vol. 7, p. 6.

† *Hung-keen luh*, vol. 9, p. 7.

ing in the said empire of Cathay, number more than 30,000, and are very rich; but many of them fear the Christians. They have very beautiful and very holy churches, with crosses and images in honor of God and of the saints. They receive from the said emperor several offices, and he grants them many privileges, and it is thought that if they would consent to unite and agree with these Minorites, and with other good Christians who reside in this country, they might convert the whole of this country and the emperor to the true faith." Even down to the sixteenth century, traces of the existence of these people may be found. So that, could any sufficient argument be adduced to show that this monument was fabricated by the Jesuits during the Ming dynasty, as some have asserted, it would still remain to be explained what could be their object in so doing. Were it merely to prove the existence of Christians in China during the seventh and eighth centuries, that was already amply proved from other sources. Was it to give the sanction of antiquity to the peculiar dogmas of their church? That could scarcely be; for we find no distinguishing characteristic of the Roman Catholic religion on it, which is not applicable to other Christian communities. Had that been their object, however, it is scarcely credible that they would have left so much on this point to mere inference, while they have descended to so many minutiæ, on apparently irrelevant matters, thus involving themselves to a high degree in the risk of detection, by details of persons, places, and events, which, while they come with a natural air from a contemporary, would never repay the care and research which they would require on the part of a forger living eight or nine hundred years after the event. And yet it is remarkable that the more closely these various assailable points on the tablet are looked into, the more full and minute do we find the coincidence of times and circumstances.

With respect to the form of the writing, and the style of the composition, any one living in China can have no difficulty in making up his mind on that subject; as indeed he may on every other part of the evidence; a careful attention to which will probably bring every one to the conviction of that which no Chinese has ever doubted, that, if the Nestorian tablet can be proved a forgery, there are few existing memorials of by-gone dynasties which can withstand the same style of argument.

ARTICLE III.

ON

THE AVESTA,

OR

THE SACRED SCRIPTURES

OF THE

ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION.

BY

WILLIAM D. WHITNEY,

PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT IN YALE COLLEGE.

(Read October 18, 1854.)

ON THE AVESTA.*

UNTIL within a little more than a hundred years, the classic authors had been almost our only authorities for the ancient history, manners, and customs of Persia. Their insufficiency was painfully felt. Long and intimate as had been the intercourse of the Greeks with the Oriental Empire, the information which they had left on record respecting its institutions but half satisfied an enlightened curiosity. They gave us only a picture of that power which had suddenly risen in the west of Iran, upon the ruins of yet more ancient empires, adopting in part their culture, and along with this their corruptions and vices also; so that it had sunk again into ruins, after a brief though splendid existence of about three centuries. Later, they told us somewhat of the external fates of the various realms into which Alexander's eastern conquests were divided; and yet later, the Roman and Byzantine annals spoke of conflicts with Parthian and Sassanian monarchs, not always resulting to the honor of the European power. And, for more modern times, Mohammedan writers related the story of the conquest of Iran, and the extinction of its ancient customs and religion. These were all of them the accounts of foreigners. There was also in existence a modern Persian literature, of abundant extent and rich in beauties, which professed to give a view of the nation's fates from the earliest times; but the account which it furnished was epic and traditional, unaccordant with what we knew from other sources, incapable of reduction to the form of true history; and, since it was produced under Mohamme-

* This article was first read before the Society Oct. 18, 1854, but has been partially rewritten, so as to be brought down to the present time.

dan influences, it could not possibly reflect a faithful picture of native Persian institutions and character. But a century ago an entirely new avenue of access to the knowledge of Iranian antiquity was opened. The western world was then for the first time made acquainted with the Avesta, the ancient and authoritative record of the Iranian religion, the Bible of the Persian people. Here was a source lying beyond and behind anything hitherto accessible. It was of a remote antiquity, claimed to be the work of Zoroaster himself, the well-known founder of the Persian religious belief, the prophet and the legislator of Iran, the establisher of the earliest institutions respecting which our other informants had given us any account: it was a part of a native literature, in which we might expect to read the national character with much more distinctness and truth than in the descriptions of foreigners: and it antedated, and was independent of, any external influences upon Persian civilization. Its introduction to our knowledge changed the whole ground of investigation into Persian antiquity. In it was to be found the key to the true comprehension of the subject: by it other sources of information were to be tested, their credibility established or overthrown, their deficiencies supplied. Something of this work has been now already accomplished, but much more yet remains to be done. The investigation is still in its first stages; its materials have been only partially accessible, and the number of laborers upon them small; its importance has been but imperfectly appreciated; nor until very lately have the means and methods of archæological research been so far perfected, that the new material could be intelligently taken up and mastered. It is not possible, then, to give here a full statement of the results derivable from the Avesta for the knowledge of Persian antiquity. The present, however, is a point of time at which it seems particularly appropriate to make a general examination of the subject, and to take a view of the condition in which the investigation lies. For the ancient text itself, with all the aids to its understanding which the Orient can furnish, is just now published, and placed within reach of scholars throughout the world: the study which has hitherto been limited to a few is thus thrown open to general competition, and may accordingly be expected to make surer and more rapid advances. It will be the object, then, of

this paper, to trace out the history of the introduction to modern knowledge of the writings in question, and of the study and labor which has since been expended upon them; and farther, to give such a view of the general results won and to be won from and respecting them, as shall serve to illustrate their character and importance.

The Pârsî communities dwelling on the western coast of India have been the medium through which the ancient Persian scriptures have come into our possession. Before we proceed, therefore, to a consideration of the latter, it will be well to go a little farther back, and inquire how the seat of the Zoroastrian religion and culture came to be removed from Persia to a land of strangers. It is an interesting and curious history.

The Parthian dynasty had for some centuries held sway in Persia, when, A. D. 229, it was overthrown and replaced by the Sassanian. This was a native Persian family; its monarchs made themselves the protectors and patrons of whatever was peculiarly Persian, revived the ancient customs and religion, and raised the realm to a pitch of power and glory hardly exceeded even in its palmiest days: but they sank, A. D. 636, before the fanatical valor of the Mohammedan Arabs, then just entering upon their career of almost universal conquest. Now began the work of extinguishing, by more or less violent means, the native religion and institutions. It was not accomplished at once; for a long time indications of a vigorous, though ineffectual, resistance on the part of the Persians to the political and religious servitude into which their nationality was being forced, are to be discovered in the Mohammedan histories: but it was by degrees repressed and broken; and at last, probably sometime during the ninth century, a community of those who still would hold fast to the ancient faith took refuge from persecution among the mountains of Kohistan, on the western border of the present Beluchistan. Thence, after a residence of near a hundred years, they were either hunted or frighted, and betook themselves to the island Ormus, in the strait of the same name, between the Persian Gulf and that of Oman. But they remained here only fifteen years, and then, sailing southeastward along the coast, settled upon the island of Diu, off the peninsula of Guzerat. Once more, after an interval of rest of nineteen years, they embarked

with their effects, and, crossing the Gulf of Cambay, finally established themselves on the main land, in the neighborhood of Surat, and their wanderings were at length at an end. Such is the account which their own traditions furnish us;* but it has been conjectured† that commercial connections led the way from Persia to India, and at least established there the nucleus of a Pârsî community, to which those afterwards resorted who left their country for the sake of the undisturbed exercise of their religion. In their new home they lived at first in quiet and prosperity, by the sufferance and under the protection of the mild and tolerant Hindûs. But in the eleventh century their old foes, the Mohammedans, found them out once more; they shared the fate of their Indian protectors, after aiding in the vain resistance these offered to the invaders: they were oppressed and scattered, but not this time driven away; and their descendants still inhabit the same region. They have adopted the language of those among whom they are settled, but have adhered steadfastly to their own religion and customs. They have retained, too, among the dark and listless Hindûs and Mohammedans, the light complexion, and the active habit of mind and body, which belonged to them in their more northern home. They are the "Armenians" of India, the most enterprising and thriving portion of its Asiatic population, and have so prospered, especially since the establishment of English supremacy brought freedom and security for the arts of peace, that they are now a wealthy and influential community. They had brought with them originally their sacred books; they had lost a part of them during the disturbances which attended the Mohammedan conquest, but were supplied anew from the brethren whom they had left behind in Kerman. With these they long kept up a correspondence, acknowledging them as their own superiors in the knowledge of the common faith, obtaining their advice from time to time on doubtful points of doctrine or practice, and receiving from them books or teachers. These Persian communities of Gebers, however, it should be added, who were thus only a century ago regarded as the highest

* See Eastwick, on the Kissah-i-Sanjân, in the Journal of the Bombay Society, vol. i. p. 167, etc.

† See Westergaard's Zendavesta, preface, p. 22.

authority in matters affecting the Zoroastrian religion, have since rapidly wasted away under the continuance of the same oppressions which had earlier driven their fellow-believers to emigrate. They were visited in 1843, at Kerman and Yezd, their two chief seats, by Westergaard,* for the express purpose of examining into their condition, and of endeavoring to obtain from them copies of any valuable manuscripts which might be in their possession. He found them in the lowest state of decay, especially at Kerman, and fast becoming extinct by conversion to Mohammedanism. They had almost lost the knowledge of their religion; they had but a few manuscripts, and among these nothing that was not already known; they had forgotten the ancient tongues in which their scriptures were written, and were able to make use only of such parts of them as were translated into modern Persian; they could not, however, be induced to part with anything of value. In another century, then, the religion of Zoroaster will probably have become quite extinct in its native country, and will exist only in its Indian colony; but it has lived long enough to transmit as an everlasting possession to the after world all that has for centuries been in existence of the old and authentic records of its doctrines; and, having done that, its task may be regarded as fulfilled, and its extinction as a matter of little moment.

We are now prepared to return, and inquire into the introduction of the writings in question to the knowledge of Europe.

The movement commenced with the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the first step of it may be said to have been the publication, in 1700, of Hyde's Veterum Persarum et Magorum Religionis Historia, which first taught the learned to seek for contributions from Oriental sources to the knowledge of the subject furnished by the classical historians. Hyde knew that votaries of the Persian religion still existed both in Persia and in India, and that they were in possession of what they asserted to be their ancient and original scriptures; he even had in his hands portions of the latter; but he was unable to make any use of them, from ignorance of the language in which

* See his letter to Wilson, in Jour. Roy. As. Society, viii. 349.

they were written. India was at that period rapidly becoming opened to European, and especially to English enterprise, and Pârsî manuscripts continued to be brought, from time to time, from the settlements about Surat, so that by 1740 more than one copy of all, or nearly all, their religious writings had been deposited in the Oxford libraries; but they were still as books sealed with seven seals to the knowledge of Europeans. It was a Frenchman, the celebrated Anquetil-Duperron, whose zeal and devotion first rendered their meaning intelligible. He was in Paris, in 1754, a very young man, pursuing Oriental studies with ardor at the Royal Library, when a few lines traced from one of the Oxford manuscripts chanced to fall under his eye, and he at once formed the resolution, a somewhat wild and chimerical one, as it seemed, to go to Persia or India, and bring back to his native country these ancient works, and the knowledge necessary to their interpretation. But there was perseverance and energy, as well as enthusiasm and ardor, in his character, and he showed the former qualities as remarkably in the execution of his project as the latter in its conception. All the influences at his command he set in motion, to procure him the means of transit to the East, and of support while engaged in his studies there. As, however, success seemed to his impatient spirit neither near nor sure enough, he determined to enlist as a private soldier in the Indian Company's service, certain thus of being conveyed across the ocean, and trusting to the future for the rest. And he actually marched out of Paris on foot with his company, in November, "to the lugubrious sound," as he says, "of an ill-mounted drum." But upon his arrival, ten days later, at L'Orient, he found that his resolution and devotion had in the meantime met with due appreciation: he received his discharge from military service, a pension of five hundred francs, free passage in one of the Company's vessels, and promise of aid and support in the carrying out of his purposes. He landed at Pondicherry August 10th, 1755. Many obstacles intervened, however, to delay his success, arising partly from the unsettled, or actually hostile, relations between the French and the English, whose career of conquest was just then commencing, but in considerable measure likewise from his own lack of prudence and steadiness of purpose: so that almost three years had passed away be-

fore he had fairly commenced his labors. The interval was not entirely lost; he acquired knowledge enough of Persian and other eastern languages to be of essential service to him in the farther pursuit of his studies, and journeyed extensively about the Indian peninsula, from Pondicherry up the coast to Bengal, and thence all the way around to Surat, by land; the history of these travels, as well as of his whole residence in India, is given in the first volume of his Zend-Avesta. He finally reached Surat, the scene of his proper labors, and his home for three years, on the first of May, 1758. Already while he was in Bengal, it had been signified to him by the Chef of the French station in Surat, to whom he had made known his wishes, that certain Pârsî priests there were ready to constitute themselves his instructors, and to communicate to him their sacred books, and the knowledge of the languages in which these were written. Dissensions among the Pârsîs themselves had aided in bringing about this willingness to initiate a foreigner into the mysteries of their religion, which they had hitherto kept secret against more than one attempt to penetrate them. They were divided into two parties in reference to certain reforms which the better instructed part of the priesthood were endeavoring to introduce, and, as the conservative faction had connections with the Dutch, their antagonists desired to ingratiate themselves with the French; they sought, accordingly, to gain their support, by making promises, the fulfilment of which they hoped would never be called for, and were very much disinclined to grant, when Anquetil actually appeared to claim it. By various means, however; by liberality in the purchase of manuscripts and payment for instruction, by politic management, by intimidation even, the course of instruction was at last fairly initiated; confidence and frankness then gradually succeeded to mistrust and reticence, as the priests witnessed with admiration the zeal and rapid progress of their pupil, and as the habit of communication wore away their natural shyness of discovering, to unsympathizing foreigners, matters which to themselves seemed sacred: this had, in reality, been the only obstacle in the way of their free disclosure, and has since that time been entirely removed. Anquetil succeeded in obtaining a complete copy, in some instances more than one, of all the texts in their possession, and made collations of them

with others. He then labored his way through their interpretation with his teacher, the Destur Dârâb, carefully recording everything, and comparing, so far as he was able, parallel passages, in order to satisfy himself of the good faith and trustworthiness of his authority. As their medium of communication they made use of the modern Persian. He visited moreover their temple, witnessed their religious ceremonies, and informed himself respecting their history, their general condition, customs, and opinions. In September, 1760, he had thus completed to the best of his ability the task he had originally imposed upon himself, and was preparing to undertake another work which he had also had in view, the study of Sanskrit, and the acquisition and translation of the Vedas, when the capture of Pondicherry by the English, and the general breaking up of the French power and influence in India, compelled him to relinquish his farther plans, and to return home. This he did in an English vessel, upon which passage and protection had been granted him by the English authorities. He finally reached Paris March 15th, 1762, after an absence of more than seven years. He tarried in England by the way only long enough to make a brief visit to Oxford, and to ascertain by a comparison of the manuscripts there with his own, that they contained nothing which he had not also in his possession. He deposited in the Royal Library in Paris a complete set of the texts which had been the main objects of his expedition, and immediately commenced preparing for publication the history of his labors, and full translations of the whole body of the sacred writings. The work appeared in 1771, in three quarto volumes, with the title Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, &c. Besides this, he published in the French literary journals various extended and important treatises on special points in Iranian antiquity and history.

We shall not be prepared to pass intelligent judgment upon Anquetil's labors, or to estimate their absolute value, until we have inquired somewhat farther into the character and history of the writings which were their subject, and the authority of the interpretation which they represented, and have marked the course pursued by the later studies. So much as this is already evident, however; that the credit cannot be denied him of having undertaken from lofty and disinterested motives, and carried out with

rare energy against obstacles of no ordinary character, the work of procuring for Europe the Iranian scriptures, the alleged works of Zoroaster, with what light their then possessors were capable of throwing upon their meaning; of having, moreover, brought a valuable supply of materials within reach of other scholars, and powerfully directed the public attention and interest toward the study. The reception which his published results met with was of a very varied character: while they were hailed by some with enthusiasm, by others they were scouted at and despised. Anquetil had, indeed, both provoked opposition and attack, and laid himself open to them; he was arrogant and conceited, and neither a thorough scholar nor a critic of clear insight and cool judgment: he had drawn upon himself the especial displeasure of the English scholars by the depreciating and contemptuous manner in which he had spoken of some among them, and they revenged themselves upon him and his book together. A violent controversy arose: William Jones, then a very young man, led the way, and was followed by Richardson and others. They maintained that both the language and the matter of the pretended Zoroastrian scriptures were a forgery and a fabrication, palmed off upon the credulous and uncritical Anquetil by his Pârsî teachers; or that, even supposing them genuine, they were of so trifling and senseless a character, that the labor of rescuing them had been a lost one. Into the details of this controversy it is not necessary for us to enter; its whole basis and method was far below that which any similar discussion would now occupy, and we should find neither in the learning nor the spirit of the one side or the other anything which we could admire or which would edify us. The time was not yet come for a proper appreciation of the task which Anquetil had undertaken, or of the manner in which he had executed it. The real weaknesses and imperfections of his work remained unsuspected, until, after an interval of more than fifty years, the study of the texts was again taken up, under new and much more favorable auspices. The Sanskrit language had in the meantime become the property of science; only through its aid was a scientific investigation of the Zoroastrian writings possible, and without it our knowledge of them must ever have remained in much the same state as that in which Anquetil had left it.

Before we enter upon the history of the later labors upon these texts, it will be advisable to take a somewhat particular view of the texts themselves, as regards the various circumstances of their extent and division, the character of their contents, their language, locality, and period, and the history of their collection and conservation.

The sacred canon is made up of several separate portions, differing in age, origin, and character. Foremost among them is the *Yaçna* (called by Anquetil *Izeschnê*). The name is identical with the Sanskrit *yajña*, signifying "offering, sacrifice," and has the same meaning. It well expresses the nature of the writings to which it is applied; these form a kind of liturgical collection of offerings or ascriptions of praise and prayer to the various objects of worship of the Iranian religion. The Yaçna is composed of seventy-two distinct pieces, called *Hâs;* there is, however, another and more general division, into two portions, of which the first contains twenty-seven Hâs, the second forty-five. Between these two parts exists a marked difference of external and internal character; the second is written in a dialect differing perceptibly, although only slightly, from that of all the rest of the sacred writings, and evidently of greater antiquity:* it is also in great part metrical (this important fact has but recently been recognized), and seems to be a body of religious lyrics, not unlike in character to the Vedic hymns. Owing to the difficulty and obscurity of its language and contents, it has been less thoroughly investigated than any other part of the texts;† but revelations of a highly interesting and striking nature are to be expected from it. It is doubtless the most ancient part of the canon: this is clearly indicated as well by the antiquity of its dialect, as by the circumstance that the prayers and invocations of which the recitation is elsewhere prescribed are all contained in it. It is far from improbable that a part, at least, of these most highly venerated forms of worship may go back to the time of Zoroaster himself; it is only among them, at any rate, that records so ancient and original could be looked for. The first part of the Yaçna is of an interest

* See Spiegel, in Weber's Indische Studien, I. 303.

† Dr. Haug has translated and commented on one of the hymns in the Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch., vols. vii. viii.

less special: it is in good part made up of a bare rehearsal of the names and attributes of the sacred personages, with general ascriptions of praise and offerings of homage to them: some of the Hâs, however, possess more individuality and importance.

Of much the same style and character as this first part of the Yaçna is the *Vispered*. The etymology and meaning of the name are not entirely clear: it has been derived from *vîspereta*, "scattered;" to be understood, probably, of the dispersal of its invocations in the air. It is divided into twenty-three *Kardes* (sections), and in extent is hardly more than a seventh of the Yaçna. The Yaçna and Vispered are combined with one another and with a third text, the *Vendidâd*, to make up a liturgical collection which is much used in the Pârsî ceremonial, and which is generally known as the *Vendidâd-Sâde*: this name, however, is not significant of anything essentially characterizing the collection, but simply denotes it as "unmixed" (*sâde* meaning "pure") with the translations into a later dialect which usually accompany each text when written by itself. The combination is in such wise that with the twenty-seven Hâs of the first part of the Yaçna are intermingled twelve Kardes of the Vispered: here takes place the first introduction of the Vendidad, whose twenty-two chapters (called *Fargards*) are thenceforth variously combined with the remaining divisions of the other two works. The principle upon which the aggregation has been formed, if any there be, has not been pointed out.

The Vendidad is a work of a very different nature from those already noticed: while they are chiefly doctrinal and devotional, this is practical and prescriptive, constituting the moral and ceremonial code of the Zoroastrian religion. The name is a corruption of the title *vî-daeva-dâta*, "the law against the demons" or "established against the Devs." It teaches by what means a man may keep himself from such sin and impurity as give the powers of evil dominion over him. The impurity thus provided against, however, is chiefly of a ceremonial character, resulting from intercourse with things unclean and defiling, especially from contact with a dead body; and the bulk of the work consists of a series of very minute directions as to how personal purity may be guarded against such dangers, or recovered when

lost. Besides these, there are precepts more properly moral: various offences against the divine powers are rehearsed, their comparative enormity estimated, and the atonement demanded for each prescribed: on the other hand, that course of conduct is depicted which is most grateful to the eyes of the divine powers, and most tends to secure their favor: no little space, also, is devoted to rules for the treatment of the dog, which this religion regards as a sacred animal. The whole is in the form of colloquies between Ormuzd (Ahura-Mazda), the supreme deity, and Zoroaster (Zarathustra), who inquires of the former respecting each particular point, and receives in reply the laws which he is to publish to mankind. The same colloquial form, or that of an inquiry by the prophet at the divine oracle, is occasionally found also in other parts of the texts. To this body of ceremonial directions, however, have become appended, at the beginning and at the end, certain other chapters, which are by no means the least interesting of the whole collection. Thus, the first Fargard gives a detailed account of the countries created by the supreme being, and furnishes very valuable indications respecting the knowledge of geography possessed by the people among whom it originated, and respecting the geographical position which they themselves occupied: the second describes the reign of Yima upon the earth, and his preparation of an abode of happiness for a certain part of mankind; illustrating in a striking manner the relation of the ancient Persian and Indian religions, and throwing light upon the modern Persian tradition of the earliest period of their own history. The last five Fargards are mainly an assemblage of fragments, in part entirely disconnected and unintelligible; the longest and most interesting of them (which Spiegel has made the subject of one of his earlier studies in the Münchener Gel. Anzeigen), describes the attempts of the evil spirits to destroy or corrupt Zoroaster; he, however, defies their malice and despises their temptations, and they sink confounded into the darkness.

Next in extent and importance are the *Yeshts*. The name is from the same root as Yaçna, and nearly identical with it in meaning. They are twenty-four pieces, of very different length, each addressed to one of the persons or objects held in veneration by the Zoroastrian faith. The longest

and most important are those of the fountain Ardvî-Çûra, of the star Tistrya, of Mithra, of the Fervers, or souls of the dead, of the Amshaspand Behram. Each is an exaltation of the object to which it is addressed, accompanied with prayers for blessings and the offerings of homage and worship. They are either direct addresses, or in the form already described, of replies made by Ahura-Mazda to the inquiries of his prophet respecting the merits of the several personages to be honored, and the mode and degree of reverence which should be paid to each. Besides the general light which they thus throw upon the religion of whose sacred records they constitute a part, more than one of them have a particular value as illustrating the epic and heroic traditions of the period in which they were composed. It is recounted, namely, how this and that person had paid adoration to the divinity whose exaltation is the theme of the Yesht, and had received in recompense certain gifts or favors. The personages thus mentioned greet us again among the heroes of the modern epic and historical traditions, as represented especially by the gigantic poem of Firdusi, the Shah-Nameh; and the epithets by which they are characterized, and the favors granted them, in many instances furnish ground for a comparison between the forms of the popular tradition held concerning them in earlier and in later times.

The remaining portions of the sacred writings are not of consequence enough to require any special description. They are, briefly, the five *Nyâyish*, so called, pieces not unlike the Yeshts, from which they seem to be in part extracted; the *Gahs* and *Si-ruzeh*, praises and adorations paid to the divisions of the day and the days of the month; *Aferîns* and *Afergans*, praises and thanksgivings; and a few small fragments, prayers for special occasions, and the like.

The whole body of canonical scriptures is called by the Pârsîs the *Avesta;* the origin of this appellation, and its proper signification, are not certainly known. Their collective extent is not very considerable, and their absolute material content is moreover considerably less than it seems to be, owing to the repetitions and parallelisms in which they abound.

The Avesta is written in a language to which, by an unfortunate blunder, the name of *Zend* has been given, and

now, by long usage, become so firmly attached, that it is perhaps in vain to hope that they will ever be separated. To what the name Zend properly applies, we shall see hereafter. If it should be regarded as still practicable to change the common usage, and give the language a more appropriate designation, none, it is believed, could be found so simple, and open to so few objections, as *Avestan*; this suggests no theory respecting the age or locality of the dialect, and is supported by the analogy of the term *Vedic*, as applied to the oldest form of the Sanskrit, the language of the Vedas. The Avestan, then, is an ancient Persian language, most nearly akin to that of the Achæmenidan Cuneiform Inscriptions, and the ancestor of some, at least, of the modern Persian dialects. The epoch when it was a spoken language cannot be definitely fixed: we have only the most general data for its determination. A comparison of the language itself with its two nearest neighbors on either hand, the Vedic Sanskrit, dating from fifteen centuries before Christ, and the Achæmenidan Persian, a thousand years later, leads to no certain results. The Avestan is, indeed, in point of linguistic development, a more modern dialect than the former, and, though less clearly so, more ancient than the latter, so that in respect to time also we should be inclined to place it somewhere between the two: yet too much reliance should not be placed upon such a conclusion, since even closely related dialects are known to develope and change at very different rates of progress. Other general considerations, however, seem to refer us to a time as early as the first half of the thousand years before Christ as being that of the Avestan language. It has been already pointed out that the different portions of the text are, to some extent, at least, the product of different periods, and that, while some passages may perhaps be as old as the time of Zoroaster himself, the bulk of the collection is of such a character that it cannot be supposed to have originated until long after. There is no difficulty in assuming that the language which had been rendered sacred by the revelation in it of the first scriptures, should be kept up by the priests, and made the medium of farther authoritative communications. But until the texts shall have undergone a more minute examination than they have yet received, and until our knowledge of the details of Persian archæology is ad-

vanced much beyond its present point, it will be impossible to read the internal history of the collection, and to determine, save in a very general way, the order and interval of its several parts. We cannot yet even fix our earliest limit, by determining the time of the appearance of Zoroaster, and of his activity as a reformer of the ancient religion. The information respecting him which the classic authors obtained from native sources of their own period is so indefinite and inconsistent, as to show clearly that the Persians were already at that time unable to give any satisfactory account of him; of course, then, nothing more definite and reliable could be looked for from them at a later date. His genealogy is given in the sacred writings, and he is said to have lived and promulgated his doctrines under a king Vîçtâçpa; the later Persian traditions also are consistent in making the same statement respecting him. This king was by Anquetil supposed to be the same with Hystaspes, the father of the first Darius; his opinion was generally accepted as well founded, and the time of the religious lawgiver accordingly fixed at 500–600 B. C.: but the identification is now universally acknowledged to be erroneous, and all attempts to reconstruct Persian chronology and history from native authorities, so as to establish in them any points whatever, prior to the reign of the first Sassanid, have been relinquished as futile. We can only conclude, from the obscurity which five centuries before Christ seemed to envelope and hide from distinct knowledge the period of the great religious teacher, and from the extension of his doctrines at that time over the whole Iranian territory, even to its western border, that he must have lived at least as early as a thousand years before our era. And the absence in the sacred texts of any mention of Media or Persia indicates clearly that they were composed prior to the conquest of all Iran by the early monarchs of those countries.

Respecting the region in which the Avesta had its origin we may speak with confidence: it was Bactria and its vicinity, the northeastern portion of the immense territory occupied by the Iranian people, far removed from those countries with which the western world came more closely into contact. To give in detail the grounds upon which this opinion is founded would occupy too much time and space here: they are, briefly stated, the relation which the Avestan language

sustains to the Indian and to the other Persian dialects, differences of religious customs and institutions from those which we know to have prevailed in the West (as, for instance, that the Avesta knows nothing of the Magi, the priestly caste in Media and in Persia proper), the indirect but important evidences derived from the general character of the texts, the views and conceptions which they represent, the state of culture and mode of life which they indicate as belonging to the people among whom they originated, and, not least of all, the direct geographical notices which they contain. The two oldest records of the Indo-European family, then, were composed in countries which lie almost side by side, and at periods not very far removed from one another. It is no wonder that their languages exhibit so near a kindred that the one has been deciphered and read by the aid of the other, as we shall see to have been the case, when we take up again the history of the later Avestan studies.

It is claimed by the Pârsîs that the Avesta is the work of Zoroaster himself; with how little ground, will have been already sufficiently shown by what has been said respecting the character and period of the different parts. Nowhere in the texts themselves is any such claim set up: they profess only to be a record of the revelations made to the prophet, and the doctrines promulgated by him. The Pârsîs also assert that Zoroaster's writings originally composed twenty-one books, or *Nosks*, and covered the whole ground of religious and secular knowledge; as the Egyptians claimed the same thing in behalf of their forty-two books of Thoth. Of these they say that one, the twentieth, has been preserved complete, being the Vendidad; while of the others only fragments have come down to later times. But, considering the so evidently incomplete and fragmentary, as well as incongruous and compounded, character of the Vendidad, it seems altogether probable that this tradition is not more valuable than the other, and that it in truth is nothing more than the expression of a consciousness on the part of the Pârsîs that they possess only a part of the scriptures which had once been theirs. Let us farther follow their traditions respecting the history of their sacred books. Strangely enough, all the native authorities agree in attributing the first great trial and persecution of the

Zoroastrian religion, the dispersion of its followers, and the destruction of its records, to Alexander the Great. The introduction of this personage at all into the Persian legendary history, which is silent respecting the time before and after him for centuries, is remarkable and difficult to explain. The fabulous account of the great conqueror's life and deeds, which, coming from a Greek source, was translated with variations and additions into almost every Oriental language, and obtained universal diffusion and popularity throughout the East,* doubtless had much to do with it; but whether this was the sole efficient cause, or whether, as is more probable, the story may have attached itself to some faint recollections of the hero, and of the changes which followed upon his conquests, cannot be discussed here. We can see, however, that it might be easy to connect with his appearance the decline of the ancient native religion, and to convert the foreign subverter of the Persian empire into a persecutor of the Persian faith. There was, in truth, at and after his time, a grand falling off in the honor and reverence paid to this faith: if not oppressed and persecuted, it had lost the exclusive patronage and support of government; it had ceased to be the only acknowledged creed; the foreign, or only half-Persianized, dynasties of the Parthians and the Græco-Baktrians showed it no especial favor; Grecian influences, Judaism, Christianity, disputed with it the preferences of the people. With the overthrow of the Parthian rule, and the establishment of the Sassanian dynasty, began a new order of things. This was, in effect, a successful revolution of Persian nationality against the dominion of foreign rulers and foreign ideas, and had as a natural consequence the re-establishment of the national religion on something like its ancient footing. The Persian traditions are so definite and concordant respecting this great religious revival, and there are so many other corroborative evidences to the same effect, that its actuality cannot reasonably be questioned. During the long interval of neglect and oppression, say the traditions, the sacred books, even such as were saved from destruction by the tyrant Iskender (Alexander), had become lost, and the doctrines and rites of the Zoroastrian religion were nearly

* See an article by President Woolsey in this Journal, vol. iv. p. 357, etc.

forgotten. King Ardeshir gathered from all parts of the land a great assembly of Mobeds, to the number, according to some, of forty thousand, and from their memory and recitation of the scriptures, so much of the latter as was not forgotten was again collected and committed to writing. This, too, is a notice which there is much reason for believing to be in the main authentic. The whole state and condition of the collection, as it exists in our hands, indicates that its material must have passed through some process analogous to this. The incomplete and fragmentary character of the books that compose it, the frequent want of connection, or the evident interpolations of longer or shorter passages, the hopelessly corrupt state of portions of the text, the awkward style and entire grammatical incorrectness displayed by others, all go to show that it must be in some measure an assemblage of fragments, combined without a full understanding of their meaning and connection. To this is to be added the evidence afforded by the alphabetic character in which the texts are written.* The Avestan character is of Semitic origin, akin to the Syriac alphabets of the commencement of the Christian era, and closely resembling that used in the inscriptions and upon the coins of the earliest Sassanids, of which it seems a developed form. It cannot, then, have been from the beginning the medium of preservation of the Zoroastrian scriptures; the Avesta cannot have been written in it before the time of Christ. But it is a very difficult matter to suppose a deliberate change in the method of writing a text esteemed sacred, unless when peculiar circumstances require or strongly favor it; the character comes to partake of the sanctity of the matter written in it, and is almost as unalterable. It could hardly be, excepting when the body of scripture was assembled and cast into a new form, that it should be transcribed in a character before unused. The Sassanian reconstruction of the Zoroastrian canon, and its committal to writing in an alphabet of that period, must probably have taken place together.

It may now be inquired in what relation the text of the Avesta, as it lies before us, stands to this original Sassanian

* Prof. Roth, of Tübingen, has discussed these points in a thorough and instructive manner, in the Allg. Monatsschrift (Braunschweig) for March, 1853.

compilation. Our oldest existing manuscripts date from the early part of the fourteenth century, or not less than a thousand years later than the compilation, and most of them are considerably more modern. Whatever their age, they all come also from the same region, from eastern Persia, namely, the country of Yezd and Kerman; the Pârsîs in India lost, as before noticed, at the time of the Mohammedan conquest, most or all of the sacred books which they had first brought with them, and were obliged to supply themselves anew from that region, the only one where any relic of the ancient religion still survived in Iran. And they all offer the same text; there are, indeed, very considerable varieties of reading among them as regards the orthography and division of the words, so that not unfrequently different grammatical forms and different combinations seem to show themselves; yet, sentence by sentence, and page by page, they are found to agree in presenting the same matter in the same order; their disagreements are to be charged to the ignorance and carelessness of the copyists; they all represent a single original. And this original Westergaard* supposes to have been the eastern Persian copy of the Sassanian canon; assuming that but few copies of it were at first made, and that a single one became the source of supply to a whole district. These are points upon which farther investigation will doubtless throw a clearer light; but it may be regarded as upon the whole highly probable that we have in our hands nearly or quite all the Zoroastrian scriptures which were found recoverable at the time when their recovery was attempted, and that we may hope to restore, at least approximately, the original text as then constructed.

The Avesta, as it has thus been described, does not constitute the whole sacred literature of the Pârsîs. It is accompanied by other matter, chiefly translations and explications of its text, of later date, and in other tongues. We have, first, a version of a considerable portion of it in a language called *Pehlevî* or *Huzvâresh*. It occurs in the manuscripts intermingled with the original text, and following it sentence by sentence. To this version, now, belongs of

* Preface to his Zendavesta, p. 21.

right the name *Zend*;* the word properly denotes, not the language in which the Avesta is written, but the translation of the Avesta into another language; its etymology is not perfectly clear, but it seems, according to the most plausible interpretation, to signify a work made for the common, popular advantage, a reduction of a difficult original to a more readily and generally intelligible form. Not the whole Avesta is thus accompanied by its Zend: portions of the text, as some of the Yeshts, were perhaps never translated, and of the Yaçna the translation has become lost. The language and period of the Zend will be considered a little farther on. Mingled, again, with the Pehlevî version, as interpretations of, or glosses upon it, are found passages which are styled *Pâ-Zend*, as standing "at the foot of the Zend." The dialect in which they are composed is called, for convenience's sake, the *Pârsî*; it is an older form of the modern Persian language, not widely different from the latter, nor far removed from its oldest monuments in point of time. The Pârsî is chiefly known through Spiegel's grammar† of the dialect, which contains also specimens of texts composed in it. The glosses above alluded to are not quite its only records; parts of the Avesta of some extent are translated into it, and a few portions of what is accounted as sacred scripture, such as the Patets, and some of the Aferîns, are found in Pârsî alone; as also the *Minokhired*, a little theological treatise, in the form of a colloquy between Heavenly Wisdom and The Sage. No certain results have yet been arrived at respecting the time and place of this purely Persian dialect, but it is regarded with much probability as having been in use after the downfall of the Sassanian monarchy, among the yet remaining followers of the ancient faith in the eastern and central portions of Iran. It has no peculiar written character, but is written indifferently in that of the Avesta or in the Arabic.

To return now to the Zend, or version of the Avesta in Pehlevî. Respecting this peculiar and difficult dialect there has been much discussion and difference of opinion; nor are its character and period even yet fully established. The views which have of late been generally held with regard

* See Spiegel, Pârsî Grammar, introduction.

† Grammatik der Pârsisprache, nebst Sprachproben. Leipzig: 1851.

to it are those brought forward by Spiegel, the scholar who had given most attention to the subject.* According to him, the Pehlevî of the Pârsî sacred books was identical with the Pehlevî of the early Sassanian monarchs, found on their coins and in their inscriptions, and was accordingly to be regarded as the language of the Persian court at that period, the vernacular into which the sacred texts were at the time of their collection and arrangement translated, in order to a better and more extended knowledge of them. It bore a composite character, its basis being Persian, and that of a stamp not greatly differing from the form of the language still current, while a large share of its stock of words was Semitic, resembling most nearly the Aramaic of the period. Its proper home would then be the western frontier of the empire, where Iranian and Semitic nations and languages bordered upon one another. But it was not in the strictest sense a spoken dialect; it was rather a learned or book-language, into which Aramaic words were adopted at the pleasure of the writer, somewhat as Arabic words into the modern Persian. These views, however, seem at present to be likely to undergo considerable modification. Westergaard maintains† that the Pehlevî of the early Sassanids and that of the Zend are two entirely distinct languages; that the former is a true Semitic dialect, while the latter is pure Persian, and, in fact, identical with the Pârsî, from which it differs only in the mode of writing. The character in which it is written is a peculiar one, nearly akin, indeed, to that made use of for the Avesta itself, but much less complete, expressing in several instances different sounds by the same letter. And the difficulty of making out the true form of the text is due not only to these ambiguities, but also to "the great number of arbitrary signs or ideographs for pronouns, prepositions, and particles, which have the appearance of real words;" and to "the adoption of Semitic words strangely marked by peculiar signs, which pertain to the

* See an article by him in Höfer's Zeitschrift, vol. i, and his translation of the Vêndidad, second Excurs.

† This opinion was first hinted at in the preface to his edition of the Bundehesh (1851), and is more fully stated in his introduction to the Zendavesta, p. 19, etc. Dr. Haug (Ueber die Pehlevî-Sprache und den Bundehesh. Göttingen: 1854) had followed him in recognizing the difference of the two languages called Pehlevi.

writing, and do not enter into the language." If, then, these signs are properly understood and translated, the Pehlevî becomes simple Pârsî, the Zend passage becomes a Pâ-Zend. The disguising of the translation in this strange garb, which causes its language to assume a foreign appearance, Westergaard conceives to have been a priestly device for confining the knowledge of it to a few, and giving those few an added importance in the eyes of their brethren. If this new estimate of the character of the Pehlevî dialect shall be established as the true one, it will change not a little the views which have been held respecting the date and value of the Zend, or Pehlevî translation of the Avesta, as well as respecting other points bearing upon the history and interpretation of the Avesta itself. The Zend, however, whatever its age, has been the medium through which the later Persians have kept up their knowledge of their ancient sacred scriptures, and the source from which the other and still later translations have been drawn. When fully understood and correctly interpreted, it cannot but prove of considerable value to us, partly as aiding in the comprehension of the Avestan, partly as furnishing a check upon later interpolations or mutilations, and otherwise contributing to the restoration of the original form of the text, partly as illustrating the condition of Persian doctrine and learning at the time of its origination. Besides the Zend, and a few fragments of which the originals in the older Avestan dialect are perhaps lost, the only work known to exist in the Pehlevî language, or to be preserved as written only in the Pehlevî method, is the *Bundehesh*, a cosmogonical and religio-philosophical work of a late period; in part at least, later than even the Mohammedan conquest of Persia: it, too, is claimed by the Pârsîs, but doubtless without foundation, to have had an original in the Avestan language.* We hear of Pehlevî works as made use of by Firdusi in compiling the materials for his great historical poem, but none of them have been preserved to modern times.

It remains farther only to mention the translations of the Avesta made in India itself, and into Indian languages: A Sanskrit version of the Yaçna, or rather of its Zend, was

* Westergaard has published (Copenhagen: 1851) a lithographed fac-simile of a manuscript of it, the oldest known.

made, about four centuries ago, by two Pârsî priests, Neriosengh and Ormuzdiar. A similar work was commenced upon the Vendidad, but carried only to the end of the sixth Fargard; and even the portion completed appears to have become lost; certainly it has never reached Europe. Some of the smaller pieces and fragments also exist in Sanskrit translations, but no other of the more important constituent parts of the text, as Vispered, Nyâyish, or the Yeshts. Of late years, more than one edition of the Avesta has been published by the Pârsîs in India themselves, accompanied with versions in their present vernacular, the Guzerâtî; they have for us, of course, only a very inferior interest.

Having thus taken a general view of the history and present condition of the Zoroastrian scriptures, we will return to trace farther the course of European studies upon them. As already remarked, more than fifty years elapsed after the publication of Anquetil's book before another hand was laid earnestly and effectively to the work. In the interval, the controversy as to the genuineness of the writings in question had been settled wholly in their favor, at least upon the continent; in England it would seem as if some remnant of the old factious disbelief had endured down even to the present time. The few voices which had been raised in France and Germany on the side of Anquetil's opponents had been overborne and silenced; and archæologists and historians were busy with reconstructing the fabric of Persian antiquity from the new materials thus furnished. All parties, on whatsoever points they might have disagreed, had united in assuming the correctness and reliability of Anquetil's translation, nor had any one suggested the possibility that either he himself or his instructors might have misapprehended and misinterpreted the meaning of the sacred texts. The time was coming, however, when this was to be made a subject of inquiry, and to be thoroughly and competently tested. When the Sanskrit began to become known to western scholars, the remarkable resemblance to it of the Avestan language could not fail to be at once remarked: this was urged by some as a new and convincing proof that the alleged Persian scriptures had originated, or been concocted, on Indian ground: others, however, beheld the matter in its true relations, and hailed with joy the prospect of

being able by means of the Indian language to arrive at a more sure and satisfactory knowledge of the ancient Persian records. It was in the years 1826–1830 that the new movement began to show itself with effect. In 1826 the celebrated Danish scholar, Rask, published a little treatise On the Age and Genuineness of the Zend language and the Zend-Avesta, &c. He was a Sanskrit scholar, and a general linguistic investigator of rare talents and acquirements: he had travelled in Persia and India, and had brought home to Copenhagen a valuable collection of Avestan manuscripts. His essay was far in advance of anything that had yet appeared, for establishing the character and value of the Avesta, and the relations of its language: it included also a very greatly improved analysis and determination, absolute and comparative, of the alphabet of the latter. The same year, Olshausen, a professor in the University of Kiel, was sent by the Danish government to Paris to examine and collate the Avestan manuscripts lying there; and, upon his return, the publication of a critical edition of the Vendidad was commenced by him. Its first part, containing four Fargards, appeared in 1829,* a lithographed text, with full critical apparatus; but nearly the whole edition was soon after destroyed by fire, and the prosecution of the undertaking was abandoned. Olshausen's material has since passed into the hands of Spiegel. In 1829 appeared also, in the Journal Asiatique (Paris), the first contribution to the study of the Avesta from a scholar who was destined to do more than any or than all others to place that study upon its true and abiding foundation; to whose investigations the progress of Avestan science was to be linked for many years to come. This was Eugène Burnouf. He was Professor of Sanskrit in the Collège de France, and already known as a zealous cultivator of the knowledge of the Orient, to which he had, in conjunction with Lassen, contributed in 1826 the well known Essai sur le Pali. His attention became very naturally at that period directed toward the Zoroastrian texts, and a slight examination and comparison of them with the translation of Anquetil, led him at once to important results with reference to the character of the latter. He found it

* Vendidad, Zend-Avestae pars xx, adhuc superstes, etc. Hamburg: 1829. 4to.

highly inaccurate, and so full of errors as to be hardly reliable even as a general representation of the meaning of its original. Among the manuscripts brought home by Anquetil, however, he found another translation, intelligible to him, which was plainly much more faithful than that of the French scholar: this was the Sanskrit version of the Yaçna by Neriosengh, mentioned above. He was forced, then, to conclude that, during the three centuries which had elapsed between Neriosengh and Anquetil, the Pârsîs must have lost in a great degree the knowledge of their own sacred writings. But it may be remarked here that Spiegel has since endeavored to show* that Anquetil's inaccuracy was due not entirely to the ignorance of his Pârsî instructors, but in part also to his own faulty method of communicating with and interrogating them; inasmuch as he seemed to have obtained from them hardly more than an interpretation of the separate words of the text, which he then himself, with more or less success, converted into a connected translation. Accordingly, Burnouf could not do otherwise than lay Anquetil aside, and commence rather with the help of Neriosengh the task of investigating the Yaçna anew, to discover its true meaning. But he by no means made himself a slavish follower of his Indian authority. The Sanskrit grammar and lexicon were a scarcely less direct, and in many important respects a more reliable, guide to the knowledge of the Avestan language, than the translation itself: and Burnouf's familiarity with the former, rare for that period, furnished the true medium of scientific investigation to a mind that was admirably qualified to perceive and make use of its advantages. He anticipated, in a manner, the science of comparative philology, just then coming into being, created his own method, and commenced his investigations with a degree of learning, acuteness, and success, that from the first attracted general attention and acknowledgement. The main features of the Avestan grammar, the phonetic value of the characters, the systems of verbal and nominal inflection, the modes of construction, were readily established from the analogy of the Indian tongue; and the Sanskrit lexicon, the roots of the Vedic and classic dialects, with the aid, in a less degree, of all the

* See Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch., i. 243.

other kindred languages, ancient and modern, furnished a clue to the meaning of words. In this way it was possible to test the correctness of the Pârsî interpretation, amend its errors, and arrive at an understanding of the texts more accurate by far than their native possessors could boast. The chief record of Burnouf's labors is his Commentaire sur le Yaçna, Tome I, published in Paris in 1833. This contains, in the form of a commentary upon a portion of text, a collection of very extensive and detailed researches into the language and matter of these writings, and the proper method of their interpretation. It was upon such a scale, however, that the whole large quarto volume, of 800 pages, contained the exposition only of the first of the seventy-two little chapters, or Hâs, of the Yaçna: such a work evidently could never be carried on to a completion; and in fact even no continuation of it ever appeared. In the Journal Asiatique of 1840–46,* Burnouf did indeed take up and treat, in a similar manner, but with less detail, the ninth chapter of the same text, yet, before it was quite finished, his attention was so drawn off by other subjects that he seems to have laid the study of the Avesta entirely aside, and even had his life been longer spared, it is not probable that he would have made farther contributions of importance to it: at any rate, the task of elaborating and publishing a critical text and interpretation of the whole Avesta would never have been accomplished by him: even before his lamented death, which took place in 1852, this had passed out of his hands into those of others. It was hoped that he might have left behind him material of value, but nothing was found among his papers in such a state as should render its publication advisable. We have omitted to mention in its chronological order the publication, in 1829–43, under his superintendence and by his care, of a lithographed fac-simile of the finest of Anquetil's manuscripts, containing the Vendidad-Sade. This, although a costly work, and furnishing, of course, a very incorrect text, aided materially to render these writings more generally accessible, and to furnish to other scholars the means of critically examining, or of adding to, the results arrived at

* Published also separately, with the title Etudes sur la Langue et sur les Textes Zends.

by Burnouf himself. Of such facilities the German scholars, in particular, had not failed to avail themselves. So Bopp, during the whole course of Burnouf's labors, had been pursuing independent investigations, especially into the grammatical forms of the Avestan language, the results of which were made public in his Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European Languages. Lassen, Benfey, Holtzmann, and others, had made from time to time contributions of value to the knowledge of the Avesta; Roth had, in more than one striking article, illustrated various points in the ancient Iranian religious or traditionary history. Brockhaus, in 1850, furnished an exceedingly practical and useful aid to the general study, in the form of a transcription into Latin characters of the text of Burnouf's Vendidad-Sade, with the various readings of an edition which the Pârsîs themselves had put forth in Bombay (1832?), a complete Index Verborum, and a glossary, containing a summary of the explanations of words and forms which had up to that time been given by various scholars.

During the past few years, however, two scholars of eminence have been separately engaged in the preparation of critical editions of the whole Zoroastrian scriptures. One of these is Westergaard, a Dane, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Copenhagen, well known to all Sanskrit scholars by his valuable Radices Linguæ Sanscritæ. He inherited, in a manner, the task which Rask and Olshausen had undertaken, but had failed to accomplish. He had at his command, as the materials of his proposed work, the manuscripts brought home to Europe by Rask, Anquetil, and others, and deposited in the libraries of Copenhagen, Paris, London, and Oxford, as well as some which he had himself collected in the course of a journey through Persia and India, undertaken partly for the purpose, and executed under the patronage of the Danish government, in the years 1842–43. The plan was a very comprehensive one. His first volume was intended to include all the texts in the true Avestan language (commonly called Zend) which compose the sacred canon, together with critical notes and various readings. The second was to comprise a complete vocabulary, and a grammar, which latter should include, also, a comparison of the Avestan with the other Iranian dialects, a history of all the Iranian tongues, a comparison of them with the other Indo-

European languages, and an exhibition of their present condition and distribution. The third and concluding volume would then present a translation of all the Avestan texts, with notes on its deviations from the native interpretations as expressed in the Pehlevî and Sanskrit translations; and farthermore, a view of the civil and religious institutions of the people among whom the Avesta originated, and a complete history of the nations of Iran, down to the time of the destruction of Iranian nationality by the Mohammedans. The whole, though published in Copenhagen, was to be in the English language, which the author is able to use correctly and intelligibly, although not with elegance. The full realization of this magnificent plan, which includes not only a complete and critical presentation of the new material for the study of Persian antiquity, with all the aids that can be furnished to those wishing to make use of it, but also the reconstruction, by its help, of the whole fabric of Persian philology, archæology, and history, must be, of course, the result of years of patient and devoted labor; nor is it to be supposed that the execution of such a work in a manner entirely satisfactory lies within the power of a single scholar, or perhaps of a single generation of scholars. What is possible to the learning and ingenuity of one man, the Danish editor will doubtless accomplish. He has but recently made himself known as an investigator in this field of study, but the ability which he has shown in others justifies high expectations, and the learned world is looking forward with great interest to the completion of his undertaking. His first volume, containing the Avestan text, with critical notes, has already appeared; its publication was begun in 1852 and finished in 1854.* In a full and interesting preface, prefixed to the volume, he explains what he has undertaken to accomplish in it. He describes the material which he has made use of, tracing out, so far as is possible, the history and mutual relations of the different manuscripts. He then proceeds to an examination of the history of the texts themselves, their collection in their present form, and their preservation, arriving at the general conclusions which have been already stated above. It has been his endeavor, then, to restore the Sas-

* Zendavesta, or the Religious Books of the Zoroastrians, edited and translated, with a dictionary, grammar, &c., by N. L. Westergaard. Vol. I. The Zend Texts. Copenhagen: 1852–54. 4to, pp. 26 and 486.

sanian original of the existing manuscripts, a task simple and easy in its main features, but exceedingly difficult and perplexing in its details. He has made the oldest manuscripts in every case his main authorities, but has not hesitated to deviate from them when later ones have seemed to present, were it only by accident, a preferable reading; and he has even ventured upon emendations of his own, when there was an utter disagreement of authorities, evidencing a corrupt text, or when the analogy of parallel passages, or the plain requirements of the sense, seemed to authorize them. In the foot-notes to each page he has given a selection only from the various readings offered by the different manuscripts, such, namely, as appeared to him to have any value, leaving out innumerable errors of transcription, and slight and unimportant variations from the text he has adopted. In this way he has unquestionably rid his work of a great body of worthless and cumbersome matter, but, on the other hand, he may, in not a few instances, have excluded a true reading, or what might have suggested such. It is, in the present state of our knowledge of the Avestan language, a matter of some risk to allow one's self the liberty of making a sparing selection of various readings: it is difficult to say what valuable hint may not now and then be hidden in a reading apparently worthless; and then, farther, considering the unsettled condition of Avestan orthography, differences which would otherwise be insignificant may assume often a certain importance. It is the opinion of Roth,* and deserves the careful consideration of laborers in this field, that the new dress into which the Avesta was re-written at the time of its last compilation was not altogether suited to it, and that the rules of transcription were not in all points definitely established, or consistently followed, by the compilers, so that the orthographical confusion of the texts is at least in part original, and the true phonetic form of the language is yet to be restored; in accomplishing which, the metrical portions of the Yaçna will render essential service. The scantiness of the critical apparatus given by Westergaard may accordingly prove to be the weak point of his edition of the Avestan texts; it would not, perhaps, be easy to find other matter in his work open to criticism. The form and

*See his essay in the Allg. Monatsschrift, quoted above.

arrangement of the volume is very convenient and practical; the character made use of, indeed, is ungraceful, ill sustaining comparison with that employed by Burnouf and Spiegel; but the divisions of the text are distinctly marked, to facilitate reference, and all notes are given on the same page with the text to which they refer. Of the time when the appearance of the remaining volumes of the work may be looked for, we have no notice, but can only hope that it will be as soon as is consistent with their thorough and careful preparation. The community of scholars, already thankful for the complete critical text of the Avesta so long waited for, will hail with added joy and gratitude the lexicon and grammar which shall render its contents accessible to other than the few to whom they have hitherto been confined.

The other editor is Friedrich Spiegel, Professor in the Erlangen University, in Bavaria. The numerous references already made in this paper to his various works will have indicated the prominent position which he occupies in the history of the later investigations into Iranian antiquity as connected with the Avesta. For some years, in fact, the most important contributions made to the general knowledge of the subject proceeded from him, in the form of essays communicated to the best-known German periodicals, or, in one or two cases, of independent works of some extent. All these were, however, to be regarded as preparatory studies for the great work of the complete publication and interpretation of the Avesta, which their author was known to have in hand. His plan included the same texts, of course, as are presented in Westergaard's edition, and the manuscript material at his command was nearly the same as that made use of by the other editor. With the Avesta was to be given also its Zend, or Pehlevî interpretation, and, as a separate work, but accompanying as nearly as possible each portion of the published texts, a translation of them into German, together with explanatory notes, and essays upon special points of interest in Iranian archæology. The first volume, containing the Vendidad, has been already for some time before the world, in both forms, text and translation.* The

* Avesta, die heiligen Schriften der Parsen. Zum ersten Male im Grundtexte sammt der Huzvâresch-übersetzung herausgegeben von Dr. Fr. Spiegel. I. Band: der Vendidad. Wien: 1853. 8vo, pp. 28, 323, and 236: and

Avesta, die ... etc. Aus dem Grundtexte übersetzt, mit steter Rücksicht auf die Tradition, von Dr. Fr. Spiegel. Erster Band: der Vendidad. Leipzig: 1852. 8vo, pp. viii, 295.

general critical principles upon which Spiegel's text is constructed are much the same as those followed by Westergaard; he aims to give the best readings which are supported by manuscript authority, venturing to alter and amend only in cases where the error and its correction are alike palpable and unquestionable. He does not claim, of course, to have succeeded always in selecting the reading which will finally be found preferable to the rest, but he furnishes, in the critical apparatus given along with the text, full material for testing and correcting the latter. For the Pehlevî version no critical apparatus is given, although the text of it is in part founded upon two manuscripts presenting quite different readings, and although the very defective state of our knowledge of the language, or mode of writing, would seem to render such an aid to our study of it highly desirable, or almost indispensable. Spiegel's edition is very handsomely printed, at the Imperial Office in Vienna, but in one respect is decidedly inferior to the less elegant Copenhagen work: while the latter is evidently arranged with a view to aiding as much as possible the practical study of its contents, the other seems rather intended to look as Oriental as may be, and lacks, accordingly, all page-headings and numbered divisions of the text, so as to render it next to impossible to find a passage sought for, or to verify a citation.

No continuation of Spiegel's work has appeared since 1853, nor is any known to have been announced;* it seems not unlikely, therefore, that he has given up the design of publishing farther portions of the text, as being already fully brought before the public in the edition of Westergaard. The latter has, moreover, extended his original plan so as to include the publication, in a separate volume, of the Zend, or Pehlevî version of the Avesta, excepting that part of it already made public by Spiegel, and of Neriosengh's Sanskrit translation.

The translation of the Vendidad by its German editor appeared even before the completion of the text itself, namely in 1852. It is preceded by an introduction, in which are given at some length the translator's views respecting the

* Since the above was written, I have been informed, by a private letter from Germany, that a second volume of Spiegel's Avesta, in text and translation, is going through the press. The letter speaks also of a new Huzvâresh grammar, by the same author, which has not yet come to hand in America.

early history of Persian culture and religion, as also respecting the history of the Zoroastrian writings, and their introduction to the knowledge of the West. It is farther followed by three essays (*Excursen*), treating, respectively, of the influence of the Semitic religions upon the ancient Persian religion, of the age of the Huzvâresh or Pehlevî language, and of the composition of the Vendidad; while each chapter of the translation is prefaced by a more or less extended explication of its contents and their significance. But this translation itself, although undoubtedly a great improvement upon that of Anquetil, cannot be regarded as an entirely successful work, nor can implicit confidence be placed in it as an accurate version of its original. Indeed, to furnish a satisfactory interpretation of the Avesta is obviously a task of far greater difficulty than to prepare a first edition of its texts. For the latter, all accessible materials had been assembled: it was not to be hoped that any manuscripts of value still remained to be discovered in the Orient, still less that additions would be made to the sum of the writings already known. Western scholarship had only to assume this material as it was, and to construct from it, as a basis for farther study, the best text which its condition allowed. But this is, after all, only a first step in the process of investigation; the criticism which has hitherto attempted only to restore the original of the existing manuscripts, has now before it the harder task of bringing out the internal character and relations of the text, of separating what has been wrongly combined and re-combining what has been wrongly separated, of detecting interpolations and discovering lacunæ, of recognizing corrupted passages, and either amending them into intelligibility, or condemning them as hopeless; of analyzing the whole, in short, into its component elements, and determining their source and value. And all this for a work of which the language has been for two thousand years extinct, and is to be restored to knowledge almost solely by the indirect means of a comparison with kindred and more intelligible dialects. It is somewhat as if the English had been long a dead language, and it were required to restore Milton's Paradise Lost, its only remaining record, from a few inaccurate, fragmentary, and confused manuscripts, by the aid of German and Swedish. Such an undertaking requires for its execution a long term of years, and the concurrent

labor of many students, nor can we hope to see it ever more than approximately accomplished. Now the work of presenting to a wider circle of inquirers and investigators a thoroughly reliable interpretation of the Iranian scriptures must, in the main, keep pace with this critical treatment of their text; and all results founded upon a present translation of them must be received with some degree of caution. There was a time when Anquetil's version was implicitly accepted as an authority; now that its utter unreliability is clearly proved, there is nothing to take its place in the general estimation. Spiegel would not himself claim, in behalf of his translation of the Vendidad, anything more than an approximate correctness. But there are special reasons why his work is less satisfactory than such a work might have been expected to be made even now. He has constituted himself the particular advocate and patron of the native traditional interpretation, giving it an undue prominence among the aids to the comprehension of its original; he has seemed to make it his first principle to be true to the tradition, as he understands it, and only his second to be true to the text. But all experience has shown, with regard to these so-called traditional interpretations, that they are unsafe guides, inaccurate and uncritical, accustomed to foist in upon their texts the conceptions and dogmas of a later period. Nor is there anything in the character of the Zend which should make it an exception to the general rule; it has, rather, its own especial deficiencies and difficulties, as being composed in an obscure, and hitherto only partially understood dialect. If Spiegel has, as Westergaard maintains, essentially misapprehended the character of the Pehlevî, regarding as a peculiar and much more ancient language what is, in fact, only simple Pârsî, disguised by a strange and artificial orthography, then it is clear that his translation of the Avesta, made chiefly through the Zend, cannot be otherwise than a very imperfect work, however much we may have to be grateful to him for his contribution toward the accomplishment of a task beset with so many and so great difficulties. When an accurate version of the Zoroastrian scriptures is at length offered to the world, it will owe not a little to the labors of Friedrich Spiegel.

We have thus reviewed the history of the Avesta, and of the labors which have been devoted to its preservation and

interpretation, both in the East and in the West, from its origin down to the present time. It may now be inquired what advantages we are to derive from our possession of it; how it is to us a valuable recovery from among the lost treasures of ancient literature. Such questions were once asked in a disparaging and contemptuous spirit; Anquetil was derided by some of his contemporaries for having suffered a farrago of nonsense and puerilities to be palmed off upon him by his Pârsî teachers as the works of the sage Zoroaster; for having wasted his zeal and efforts in acquiring for Europe a worthless text, which had no claim upon our regard or study. And it is true that if the object sought to be attained by bringing the Avesta to the West had been the acquisition for the latter of new treasures of profound wisdom, elevated religious sentiment, and inspired and inspiring poetry, then the undertaking could not be regarded as crowned with success. Much of the reproach of inflated emptiness brought against the work as interpreted by Anquetil belonged, it is true, only to his interpretation of it, yet the minute details of a trivial ceremonial, and the monotonous repetitions of formulas of praise and homage, of which it is actually, to a considerable extent, made up, as well as its depiction of conceptions and customs absurd or offensive, were not calculated to attract by virtue of their own intrinsic interest. Such, however, is not the point of view from which the value of a recovery like this will now be judged; such are not the aims and expectations with which we study the records of primeval thought and culture; we do not go to them to learn religion, or philosophy, or science, nor to have our hearts touched and swayed by the surpassing power of poetic thoughts and fancies; we go to read the early history of the human race, to trace out the efforts of man to comprehend, and make himself master of, his circumstances; to obtain light respecting the origin of ideas and institutions; to derive information as to the relationship, and intercourse, and mutual influence of ancient nations. It would enter into no cultivated mind now to question the high worth of writings of undoubted authenticity coming down from a remote antiquity, because they were found to be deficient in literary merit, when judged by modern standards; or because in the character of the mind they portrayed, and the conditions reflected in them, there was much

to lament and disapprove. An increased value, of course, is conferred upon any literary remains by superiority of absolute merit, when considered simply as works of the human mind, without reference to the place or period of their production; and again, if they be regarded in the light of historical documents, it is plain that the higher their character, the higher was the intellectual and moral development of the nation which originated them, and the more important will be the illustration of its history, and the more valuable the instruction to be derived therefrom. But yet the story of the human mind is hardly less full of interest in its weaknesses, imperfections, and errors, than in its successes and proudest triumphs, and lessons almost as noteworthy are to be learned in the one case as in the other. The sum of interest attaching to the history of an ancient people will depend, not solely upon the degree of culture, or the extent of empire, to which that people may have attained, but also upon its position, connections, and influence, and upon the ability of its records to throw light upon the condition and fates of other peoples in whom we also feel a high interest.

Let us take, then, briefly, such a view of Persian nationality and culture, in their history and relations, as will enable us to appreciate the value of the new illustration of them which is furnished by the Avesta.

In the first place, the Iranian people is of our own kindred, a branch of the great Indo-European family, to which we, along with all the most highly civilized races of the present age, belong. Its history, accordingly, constitutes a part of the history of this most important division of the human race. From the separate contributions of each member is to be made up the general story of the family; and the completeness of this, and therefore the full understanding of each part of it, requires that the fates of no people of Indo-European origin should fail to be rehearsed in it. The Indo-European nations are a band of brothers, descended from one ancestor; they had all a common starting point, and, for a time, a common history, widely scattered as they now are over the face of the earth; they had common beliefs and institutions, and a common language, different as they seem to be in all these respects to one who regards only their present condition; there is a family likeness among them, distinguishing them from all other nations, much as thousands

of years have done to efface it. We have, then, before us for a task the investigation of the history of this family as a family; we have not only to follow up, so far as their records will allow, the story of each separate member; we have to strive to penetrate beyond this into the darkness of the ante-historic period, to discover the place where they dwell together, the conditions which were common to them all, the epoch of their dispersion, the wanderings and adventures of each on its way to the possession of the seat in which we finally find it established. As the materials of the investigation, we have the languages of the various nations, and such information as we can glean respecting the beginnings of their history. And, of course, the farther back we can in any instance penetrate, the nearer will be our approach to the primitive time, the more direct the light which will be thrown upon the common antiquity of the family. This shows us how we have to estimate the value of the ancient Persian history. Persia is, in a certain sense, the elder brother of the family, and deserving of especial honor from the rest, since it was the first to assume that importance in the eyes of the world which the family has ever since maintained, and promises henceforth always to maintain; the prominence of the Indo-European races, as actors in the great drama of universal history, commences with the era of Persian empire. And the Persian language, and the Persian institutions, as represented to us by the Avesta, lead us back nearer to the primitive period than do those of any other nation, with the exception only of the Indian. It is especially, however, as an auxiliary to India, that Persia offers contributions of value to general Indo-European history. It is now becoming familiarly known how much the latter depends for its illustration upon Indian archæology; how that the antiquity and wonderful conservation of the language of India, the Sanskrit, the original simplicity of its earliest recorded customs, and the primitiveness of its myths and traditions, render them more direct illustrations than any other information we possess, of the state and condition of the family prior to its dispersion. But the relation between Persia and India is so intimate that each essentially aids in the comprehension of the other; the Veda and Avesta, those two most venerable documents of Indo-European history, illuminate each other's pages, and, taken together, lay before our eyes a view

of the condition of that primitive epoch when the Indian and Persian peoples were still dwelling together, one nation in language, institutions and territory; an epoch a thousand years more remote in the annals of the family than is reached even by Greek tradition.

Iran itself, apart from the genealogical relations of its people, is of consequence enough to render the fullest illustration of its history a thing greatly to be desired. From the earliest commencement of recorded history down to the present time, it has been eminent among the nations of the earth. The extent of Persian empire in its period of highest glory is hardly surpassed by that which Roman dominion attained centuries later. Its overthrow by the Macedonian conqueror was but a momentary fall; we might almost say, only the overthrow of a corrupt royalty and nobility. Under the Parthian and Sâssanian dynasties, Iranian nationality reasserted itself, and its new life was far from inglorious. It sank again, completely and finally, as it seemed, before the onset of Mohammedan valor and religious enthusiasm, yet it reacted powerfully upon its conquerors; the influence exerted by Persian culture upon the comparatively uncivilized Arab tribes was great and controlling; their literature and science had in a great measure a Persian origin. And once more Iran raised its head; after three hundred years of servitude, there was yet vigor of life enough left in the old race to penetrate, and animate anew with a Persian spirit, even the foreign doctrines and institutions which had been imposed upon it; its independence was at least partially recovered, and with the eleventh century commenced a new era of Persian literature, whose productions are the most brilliant flowers grown on eastern soil. The names of Firdusi, of Hafiz, of Jami, of Saadi, are worshipped in the East, and honored in the West; their works have more of that intrinsic literary merit which endears them to all times and countries than any others which Oriental nations have originated. Arms and literature have combined to extend Persian influence far beyond the limits of Iran; it is felt all the way from Constantinople to Calcutta. Turkish and Hindustânî are thickly set with Persian words; Persian is the language of courts, and of the elegantly educated, and Persian classics are the favorite models for imitation in every branch of composition.

Such is the race of whose ancient language and literature the Avesta, together with the translations and related fragments accompanying it, is, save a few inscriptions, the only surviving representative. From such remains, of course, we do not look for direct contributions to the external history of Iran. Nor is that what was especially to be desired. The general features of the story were already before us, derived from other sources. What we most wanted in addition was clear and reliable information as to the genealogical relations of the Persian people, and such an insight into their native character, and such a view of their earliest institutions, as should serve for a key to the after development of both, and to the relations of their various recorded phases. When we recall with what pains-taking industry had been wont to be collected from the classic authors a scanty list of Persian words, of doubtful authenticity, for the purpose of shedding light upon the position occupied by that people among the races of men, we see clearly of what value is the abundant supply of evidence furnished by the Avesta. The modern Persian showed satisfactorily, it is true, that Iran was peopled by a race of Indo-European origin; but it is a language of so altered and modernized a form, that hardly more than this general conclusion could have been derived from it with any certainty. Its deficiencies might have been partly supplied by the Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Achæmenidan monarchs, yet it was mainly by the aid of the Avestan that these were themselves deciphered and made available. The whole field of Persian ethnology and philology has been brightly illuminated by the Avesta, and made one of the best understood, as well as most instructive and interesting, of all those which are open to science in this department.

But in one or two important particulars the Avesta adds, directly and indirectly, to our knowledge even of the external history of the Iranian peoples. The classic writers had dealt almost exclusively with the western provinces, and without this new authority we should have known little of the eastern and northeastern regions of Iran: we should never have suspected that the latter were not only the most ancient home of the race, but also the birthplace of its civilization and religion; the true national centre, whose importance in the general sum of the national history, as estimated by popular recollection and tradition, was decidedly

superior, to that of the West. It is well known that the modern Persians are in possession of a traditionary account of their race, which professes to cover its whole history, from the earliest to the latest times. This account is presented to us in the great poem of Firdusi, the *Shah-Nameh*, or Book of Kings, one of the earliest and most famous productions of the new era of Persian literature, and one of the most remarkable works which any Oriental literature can boast; a true epic, in which the mythic and heroic legends of the olden time, after being long preserved and handed down by tradition, laid up in the national memory, and worked over, and developed, and systematized, by the national mind, are finally reduced to form, and woven together into one connected story, by a national poet, whose version is then universally accepted, and becomes the acknowledged and credited history of the people. In this epic we read nothing of the Achæmenidan kings: that proudest period of Persian empire is passed over without a notice: in its earliest accounts figure personages respecting whom Occidental history is silent: the struggle which constitutes its central point of interest is not that between Asia and Europe for the dominion of the civilized world, but that between Irań and Turan, the Persian and Turkish races, for the possession of the Iranian territory. There was a time when this strange history was a puzzle to the student of Oriental antiquity; when, in the apprehension of some, it cast doubts upon the authenticity of the classic accounts; when attempts were made to analyze it, and extract from it a true historic element. Now the Avesta has solved the riddle; it has shown the mythic origin of many of the personages and events presented as historical, and has exhibited the motives which directed the popular mind in its selection of the circumstances which it retained, and in their combination. It has, then, at least explained the origin of the native traditionary history, and determined what part shall be asssigned to it in the reconstruction of the actual history of the race.

The proper office of the Avesta, however, is to inform us respecting the moral and religious tenets and institutions of the ancient Iranian people. And its importance in virtue of this office is not to be lightly estimated. The Zoroastrian religion is one of the most prominent among the forms

of belief which have prevailed upon the earth, by reason both of the influence which it has exerted, and of its own intrinsic character. It was, indeed, never propagated by missionary labors beyond the limits of Iran; we know of no people not of Persian origin who accepted it voluntarily, or upon whom it was forced; but its position on the eastern border of the Semitic races allowed it to affect and modify the various religions of Semitic origin. The later Jewish religion is believed by many to exhibit evident traces of Zoroastrian doctrines, borrowed during the captivity in Babylonia; and the creeds of some Oriental Christian sects, as well as of a portion of the adherents of Islam, have derived essential features from the same source. But the influence which its position only gave it the opportunity of exercising, was assured to it by its own exalted character. Of all the religions of Indo-European origin, of all the religions of the ancient Gentile world, it may fairly be claimed to have been the most noble and worthy of admiration, for the depth of its philosophy, the spirituality of its views and doctrines, and the purity of its morality. Valuable notices respecting it had been given by the classical writers, yet they had been altogether insufficient to convey a clear view even of its then condition in the western provinces to which it had spread, much less to illustrate its origin, and the history of its development in the land of its birth. Had the Avesta no other merit than that of laying before us a full picture of the ancient Persian religion, it would be a document of incalculable value to the student of antiquity.

A brief sketch of the characteristic features of this religion will form a not inappropriate close to a paper on the Avesta.

By the testimony of its own scriptures, the Iranian religion is with the fullest right styled the Zoroastrian: Zoroaster is acknowledged as its founder throughout the whole of the sacred writings; these are hardly more than a record of the revelations claimed to have been made to him by the supreme divinity. It is not, then, a religion which has grown up in the mind of a whole people, as the expression of their conceptions of things supernatural; it has received its form in the mind of an individual; it has been inculcated and taught by a single sage and thinker. Yet such a religion is not wont to be an entirely new creation, but rather

a carrying out of tendencies already existing in the general religious sentiment, a reformation of the old established creed, which the time was prepared for and demanded. And so it was in the present instance. We are able, by the aid of the Indian Veda, to trace out with some distinctness the form of the original Aryan faith, held before the separation of the Indian and Persian nations. It was an almost pure nature-religion; a worship of the powers conceived to be the producers of all the various phenomena of the sensible creation,* and, of course, a polytheism, as must be the first religion of any people who without higher light are striving to solve for themselves the problem of the universe. But even in the earliest Vedic religion appears a tendency toward an ethical and monotheistic development, evidenced especially by the lofty and ennobling moral attributes and authority ascribed to the god Varuna: and this tendency, afterwards unfortunately checked and rendered inoperative in the Indian branch of the race, seems to have gone on in Persia to an entire transformation of the natural religion into an ethical, of the polytheism into a monotheism; a transformation effected especially by the teachings of the religious reformer Zoroaster. It is hardly to be questioned that Varuna himself is the god out of whom the Iranians made their supreme divinity: the ancient name, however, nowhere appears in their religious records; they have given him a new title, *Ahura-Mazda*, "Spiritual Mighty-one," or "Wise-one" (*Aura-Mazda* of the Inscriptions; *Oromasdes* and *Ormuzd* of the classics and modern Persians). The name itself indicates the origin of the conception to which it is given; a popular religion does not so entitle its creations, if indeed it brings forth any of so elevated and spiritual a character. Ahura-Mazda is a purely spiritual conception; he is clothed with no external form or human attributes; he is the creator and ruler of the universe, the author of all good; he is the only being to whom the name of a god can with propriety be applied in the Iranian religion. Other beings, of subordinate rank and inferior dignity, are in some measure associated with him in the exercise of his authority; such are Mithra, the ancient sun-god, and almost inseparable companion of Varuna in the Vedic invocations,

* See this Journal, vol. iii. p. 315, etc.

and the seven Amshaspands (*Amesha-Çpenta*, "Immortal Holy-ones,") whose identity with the Adityas of the Veda has been conjectured; they appear here, however, with new titles, expressive of moral attributes. The other gods of the original Aryan faith, although they have retained their ancient name of *daeva* (Sanskrit *deva*), have lost their individuality and their dignity, and have been degraded into the demons, the malignant and malevolent spirits, of the new religion; just as, when Christianity was introduced into Germany, the former objects of heathen worship were not at once and altogether set aside and forgotten, but maintained a kind of place in the popular belief as mischievous spirits of evil. The Daevas, together with other classes of beings of like character, form a body of malevolent and harmful powers corresponding to the Indian *rakshas*. At their head, and the chief embodiment of the spirit which inspires them, is *Angra-Mainyus* (*Arimanius*, *Ahriman*), the "Sinful-minded," or "Malevolent;" his name is one given him as an antithesis to the frequent epithet of Ahura-Mazda, *çpento-mainyus*, "holy-minded," or "benevolent." This side of the religion came to receive, however, a peculiar development, which finally converted the religion itself into a dualism. Such was not its character at the period represented by the Avesta; then the demons were simply the embodiment of whatever evil influences existed in the universe, of all that man has to hate, and fear, and seek protection against. This was the Persian or Zoroastrian solution of the great problem of the origin of evil. There was wickedness, impurity, unhappiness, in the world; but this could not be the work of the holy and benevolent Creator Ahura-Mazda; the malevolence of Angra-Mainyus and his infernal legions must have produced it. Later, however, a reasoning and systematizing philosophy inquires: how came there to be such a malevolent being in the fair world of the benevolent Creator? can he have been produced by him? and why, if an inferior and subject power, is he not annihilated, or his power to harm taken away? and then arises the doctrine that the powers of good and evil are independent and equal, ever warring with one another, neither able wholly to subdue its adversary. This latter phase of belief is known to have appeared very early in the history of the Zoroastrian religion; the philosophers aided its development

by setting up an undefined being, *Zervan-akerene*, "time unbounded," from which were made to originate the two hostile principles, and for which they sought to find a place among the original tenets of their religion by a misinterpretation of certain passages in the sacred texts.

Such being the constitution of the universe, such the powers by which it was governed, the revelation was made by the benevolent Creator to his chosen servant for the purpose of instructing mankind with reference to their condition, and of teaching them how to aid the good, how to avoid and overcome the evil. The general features of the method by which this end was to be attained are worthy of all praise and approval. It was by sedulously maintaining purity, in thought, word, and deed; by truthfulness, temperance, chastity; by prayer and homage to Ahura-Mazda and the other beneficent powers; by the performance of good works, by the destruction of noxious creatures; by everything that could contribute to the welfare and happiness of the human race. No cringing and deprecatory worship of the powers of evil was enjoined; toward them the attitude of the worshipper of Mazda was to be one of uncompromising hostility; by the power of a pure and righteous walk he was to confound and frustrate their malevolent attempts against his peace. Fasts and penance, except as imposed by way of penalty for committed transgression, were unknown. Religious ceremonies were few and simple, for the most part an inheritance from the primitive Aryan time: they were connected chiefly with the offering of *Homa* (Indian *Soma**), and with the fire.† The latter was to the ancient Iranians, and has remained down to the present day, the sacred symbol of divinity. An object of worship, properly so called, it never was; it was only invested with the same sanctity which belonged also to the other elements, the pure creations of Ahura-Mazda: all were invoked and addressed with homage, and it was unpardonable sin to profane them with impurity. Fire was kept constantly burning in an enclosed space; not in a temple, for idols and temples have been alike unknown throughout the whole course of Persian history: and before it, as in a spot consecrated

* See this Journal, vol. iii. p. 299.

† See as above, p. 317.

by the especial presence of the divinity, were performed the chief rites of worship.

The doctrines of the Zoroastrian religion respecting death, and the fate of mankind after death, are a very remarkable and interesting part of it, strikingly exhibiting both its weakness and its strength. On the one hand, as sickness and death were supposed to be the work of the malignant powers, the dead body itself was regarded with superstitious horror. It had been got by the demons into their own peculiar possession, and became a chief medium through which they exercised their defiling action upon the living. Everything that came into its neighborhood was unclean, and to a certain extent exposed to the influences of the malevolent spirits, until purified by the ceremonies which the law prescribed. The corpse was plainly arrayed, and removed as soon as might be from the company of living men: but where should it be deposited? neither of the pure elements, earth, fire, or water, might receive it; so to soil their purity would be the worst of crimes: it was exposed in a place prepared for the purpose, and left to be devoured by beasts and birds of prey, and only after the bones had been thoroughly stripped of flesh, and dried and bleached, was it allowed to hide them away in the ground. But while the body was thus dishonored, the different nature and separate destiny of the soul was fully believed in. If the person of whose mortal form the demons had thus obtained possession had been during life a sincere worshipper of Mazda, if he had abhorred evil, and striven after truth and purity, then the powers of evil had no hold upon his soul; this, after hovering for a time about its former tenement, hoping for a reunion with it, was supposed to pass away beyond the eastern mountains from which the sun rises, to the paradise of the holy and benevolent gods: the souls of the unbelieving and the evil-doers, however, were not deemed worthy of that blessedness, and were thought, so it seems, to be destroyed with the body.

It cannot be said, however, that this belief in immortality, and, to a certain extent, in a future state of rewards and punishments, formed a prominent feature of the Iranian religion, any more than of the Indian, or that it was made to enter into the daily practice of life as an ever-present and powerful incentive to good conduct.

Such are the fundamental doctrines, the moral groundwork, of the Iranian religion as reformed by Zoroaster, and no one can fail to see and acknowledge their noble and exalted character. As laid before us in the Avesta, they are not unmixed, it is true, with much that is of far inferior interest. In order to obtain a view of them thus in their native purity, we have to remove somewhat of the rubbish of ceremonial and outward observance with which they are encumbered and concealed, and to pass over in silence some features of belief not altogether worthy of them, the accretion, in part, of a later time. Yet they are really there, and do in fact constitute the basis on which the whole fabric of Iranian religion and philosophy has been reared. It would seem as if, in the right hands, they might have maintained themselves in their purity, and even have led the way to something still better and higher. But this has not been the case. That corruption and decay which has seemed to be the destiny of everything Oriental, has not spared the Zoroastrian religion. Its external rites, indeed, have maintained themselves with a tenacity truly remarkable: that little community of strangers on the western Indian coast, now the only remaining adherents of a faith which was in old times professed throughout the whole vast Iranian territory, worship still with the same forms as did their forefathers, three thousand years ago: but the spirit of the ancient religion is lost, and its practices are kept up by the Pârsîs rather from habit and a clannish spirit, than from any real religious sentiment, or proper understanding of the doctrines they symbolize.

ARTICLE IV.

CONTRIBUTIONS

FROM

THE ATHARVA-VEDA

TO THE THEORY OF

SANSKRIT VERBAL ACCENT.

BY

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(Read October 8, 1856.)

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE ATHARVA-VEDA

TO THE

THEORY OF SANSKRIT VERBAL ACCENT.

At a former meeting of the Society, I had the honor to lay before it, in connection with a review of a late work by Prof. Bopp, of Berlin, an attempt to state in a new and improved form the rules respecting the accentuation of the finite verb in the Sanskrit sentence.* That such an attempt was called for, will be evident enough to any one who will refer to the statement of these rules which is given in Benfey's larger Sanskrit grammar,† the latest and most elaborate work of its class, and the only one which professes to treat the subject in an exhaustive manner. It is not too much to say that the account of the phenomena of verbal accentuation which is there presented is entirely unsatisfactory, or even unintelligible; that it is plainly wanting in true method; that it is no orderly development from a central principle, subordinating the more particular to the more general, and giving each special rule its due proportion in the sum of the whole, but, on the contrary, a chaos of rules and exceptions, empirically stated and confusedly thrown together. That this is so, is not so much the fault of Prof. Benfey, as of the Indian grammarians, from whom, and not from the Sanskrit literature itself, he has drawn the materials out of which he has constructed his grammar: doubtless his statement is the best that could be derived from such sources; its imperfections only prove that the native gram-

* See above, p. 213, etc.

† Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache, § 127, etc.

marians occupy with reference to this department of grammar the same position as to other departments also; that while they are laborious and ingenious assemblers and arrangers of particular facts, their shallow philosophy, and laboriously unnatural and arbitrary method, render them utterly unreliable guides for us to a true knowledge of the Sanskrit language, since their rules require to be explained, and limited, and re-arranged, by the light of the very facts which they attempt to classify and account for. I referred, at the close of my former remarks upon the subject, to this untrustworthiness of those who had been our chief authorities with reference to it, and expressed my opinion, that a rational and exhaustive theory of the principles producing the phenomena of verbal accentuation in Sanskrit, could only be arrived at by a careful study of the phenomena themselves, as laid before us in the various accented Vedic texts. I was then already engaged in assembling from the text of the Atharva-Veda all the material which could aid in elucidating the matter, all the passages in which the accent was not determined by, or in accordance with, the most general rules of accentuation, and which accordingly suggested more special rules, or appeared to be anomalous and exceptional cases; and as I have now completed the collection, I take this opportunity of presenting it to the Society, hoping that it will be found not without value as a contribution to the theory of Sanskrit accent. So far as was in my power, I have classified and explained the facts collected, presenting them in connection with the rules which they illustrate, and have thus been compelled to go over in part the same ground which I formerly traversed; if of a portion of them I am unable to give a satisfactory account, their statement here will at any rate tend to render possible their future explanation, by facilitating their examination by others, and their farther comparison with kindred facts, to be derived from the other accented texts.

The first and most general rule for the accentuation of the verb in the Sanskrit sentence is this. In a direct or independent sentence, or clause of a sentence, the finite verb is made enclitic upon any word preceding it which is directly connected with it in construction. It matters not what part of the sentence that word may be which stands before the verb; whether subject or predicate, whether direct or indi-

rect object, or other limiting circumstance, it takes away the accent from the verb itself. Take as instances the following clauses.

अम्बयो यन्त्यध्वभिः शिवा भव

ambáyo yanty ádhvabhiḥ (i. 4. 1); *çivâ' bhava* (iii. 28. 3);

तत्कृण्मो ब्रह्म तस्य भाजयतेह नः

tát kṛṇmo bráhma (iii. 30. 4); *tásya bhâjayate 'há naḥ* (i. 5. 2);

अभि क्रन्द प्र त्रासय आ वीरो ऽत्र जायताम्

abhí kranda prá trâsaya (v. 21. 4); *â' vîró stra jâyatâm* (iii. 23. 2).

Even if other unaccented words intervene between the accent and the verb, the effect upon the latter remains the same: thus

मधुना त्वा खनामसि नमस्ते रुद्र कृण्मः

mádhunâ tvâ khanâmasi (i. 34. 1); *námas te rudra kṛṇmaḥ* (xi. 2. 3).

It is well known that, by the operation of this rule, the Sanskrit verb is in a large majority of cases deprived of its accent. Thus verbal forms of the root कर्, *kar*, which are perhaps found in the Vedic texts with greater frequency and in greater variety than those of any other root, occur in the Atharvan four hundred and ninety-eight times; but only one hundred and forty-six times do they maintain their own proper accent; in the remaining three hundred and fifty-two instances they are accentless or enclitic.

If, however, the verb stands at the head of the sentence, it cannot, of course, be encliticized, but retains its accent; thus

दर्शय मा यातुधानान् वृश्चामि शत्रूणां बाहून्

darçáya mâ yâtudhâ'nân (iv. 20. 6); *vṛçcâ'mi çátrûṇâm bâhû'n* (vi. 65. 2).

This is in accordance with Greek usage, by which a word usually enclitic remains orthotone, if it stands first in the sentence. As the Sanskrit has no proclitics, its sentences always commence with an accented word.

As regards the working of this rule, it is to be remarked that in poetry each *pâda*, or ultimate subdivision of the verse, is treated as if it constituted an independent clause, and a verb standing at the head of it remains orthotone, even though preceded in another *pâda* by words directly dependent upon it. The following is an instance:

धातुर्देवस्य सत्येन कृणोमि पतिवेदनम्

dhâtúr devásya satyéna kṛṇómi pativédanam (ii. 36. 2).

Other cases are i. 8. 3, 4; 17. 1; 31. 1. ii. 9. 4, 5. iii. 10. 12. v. 22. 12. vi. 54. 2; 60. 3, etc., etc.

But farther, if the verb is preceded in the sentence or *pâda* only by a vocative, it retains its accent. The reason of this is sufficiently obvious. The vocative really forms no part of the sentence to which it is attached; it is neither subject nor predicate; it is a mere excrescence, a parenthesis; it is not, then, so connected in construction with the verb that the latter can be made dependent upon it with respect to accent. We have, accordingly,

सीते वन्दामहे त्वा विश्वे देवा वसवो रक्षतेमम्

sî'te vándâmahe tvâ (iii. 17. 8); *víçve devâ vásavo rákshate 'mám* (i. 30. 1). It is unnecessary to cite more of the numerous illustrations of this principle which are to be found in the text.

By the first rule, as stated, the verb is made dependent for accent only upon some word construed directly with it. If, then, a sentence be composed of several clauses, a verb standing at the head of any one of them will keep its own accent. Instances are

पातु ग्रावा पातु सोमो नो अंहसः

pâ'tu grâ'vâ pâ'tu sómo no áṅhasaḥ (vi. 3. 2);

अहा अरातिमविदः स्योनम्

áhâ árâtim ávidaḥ syonám (ii. 10. 7);

विश्वकर्मन्नमस्ते पाह्यस्मान्

víçvakarman námas te pâhy àsmâ'n (equal to *pâhí asmâ'n*) (ii. 35. 4).

And even if the object of the verb precede the latter, it does not take away its accent, provided it be also at the same time the object of another verb: thus

यातुधानस्य सोमप जहि प्रजां नयस्व च

yâtudhâ'nasya somapa jahí prajâ'm náyasva ca (i. 8. 3).
Here the first verb is accented as standing at the head of the *pâda*, the second as commencing a new clause; the division of the sentence being made between the common object and the latter of the two verbs. A similar case, in which a common subject is regarded as belonging especially to the former of two verbs, and the latter one is accented, is

शृणोतु नः सुभगा बोधतु त्मना

çrnótu naḥ subhágâ bôdhatu tmánâ (vii. 48. 1).

It is not very often that a division of the sentence into separate clauses thus takes place within the *pâda*, and that at the same time a verb happens to stand first after the division. And as the phenomenon is an interesting one, as indicating the necessity that the word to whose accent that of the verb is subordinated must be immediately connected in construction with the latter, and not a part of any other clause, I give here a complete list of all the instances of its occurrence found in the Atharvan. They are i. 8. 3; 17. 2. ii. 5. 4 (*bis*); 10. 7. iv. 5. 6; 11. 12; 21. 1. v. 2. 9. vi. 3. 1, 2; 4. 2; 9. 1; 44. 1; 77. 1; 99. 3; 136. 2. vii. 14. 4; 48. 1. viii. 1. 12; 2. 3; 4. 1, 13, 18. ix. 1. 8; 6. 61; 10. 6. x. 4. 12; 8. 26. xii. 3. 31. xiii. 1. 30; 4. 48, 55. xvi. 6. 1. xviii. 1. 23. xix. 45. 5; 49. 6; 58. 4. There is no case in the text in which a verb occupying this position is not accented, unless it be the following:

तप्तो घर्मो दुह्यते वामिषे मधु

taptó gharmó duhyate vâm ishé mádhu (vii. 73. 1).
If this is to be translated, as the analogy of the next verse seems to indicate, "the *gharma* is heated; honey is poured out to you for food," then the verb needs to be accented दुह्यते, *duhyáte*, and the reading should be so amended.

In some of these cases, the accentuation is an important indication of the way in which the structure of the sentence is to be understood.

From this list I have omitted, however, all those not infrequent cases which come under the operation of the familiar rule given by the Indian grammarians, that a verb is accented if immediately preceded by another verb. It is perfectly obvious that such a case is in reality only one coming under the general rule for the accenting of a verb at the head of its own clause in the sentence: there can be but one finite verb in a single clause; if, then, any verb immediately follows another verb, it necessarily occupies the initial position, and cannot be encliticized. Thus, in the sentence

तस्मा अर्चाम कृणवाम निष्कृतिम्

tásmâ arcâma kṛṇávâma níshkṛtim (vi. 27. 1),
the accent of the second verb is in no manner owing to the contiguity of the word which precedes it, but to the fact that it is followed by the only word directly connected with it in construction: it would equally require to be accented if the sentence were thus arranged;

अर्चाम तस्मै कृणवाम निष्कृतिम्

árcâma tásmâi kṛṇávâma níshkṛtim,
and could be made enclitic only by having its own subject placed before it; as

तस्मा अर्चाम निष्कृतिं कृणवाम

tásmâ arcâma níshkṛtim kṛṇavâma.
We might take one of the sentences previously given, and, by altering a little its arrangement, seem to bring its accentuation within the scope of the Indian rule; as

ग्रावा पातु पातु सोमो नो अंहसः

grâ'vâ pâtu pâ'tu sómo no áṅhasaḥ;
whereas in fact the second पातु, *pâtu*, would still continue to retain its accent for the same reason as before, and for no other. Farther illustration is unnecessary: it is only to be wondered at that a rule so empirical as that of the Indian grammars should have maintained itself so long in currency, and that the true meaning of the phenomenon should not have been sooner remarked.

But there is another class of cases in the Atharvan, in which the verb retains its accent in virtue of its initial position, while nevertheless it is only by an arbitrary division of the sentence that it comes to be looked upon and treated as occupying that position. This will be best illustrated by an example:

आ नो गोषु भजता प्रजायाम्

â' no góshu bhájatâ' " prajâ'yâm (vi. 55. 2),
"Upon us kine bestow upon us progeny." This is capable of two modes of division; the comma may be placed either before or after the verb; we may read "Upon us kine bestow, upon us progeny," or "Upon us kine, bestow upon us progeny." The former is the more natural and easy; but the latter is not inadmissible, even in the English translation, and is notably easier in the Sanskrit original. In the first case the verb would be enclitic, in the second it would be orthotone; that in the text it actually does retain its accent shows that the sentence requires to be divided in the second manner. Another example is

जिह्वा ज्या भवति कुल्मलं वाक्

jihvâ' jyâ' bhávati kúlmalam vâ'k (v. 18. 8),
"Lingua ejus in nervum convertitur in sagittam vox;" here, too, the verb is accented in virtue of the division "Lingua ejus in nervum, convertitur in sagittam vox." We have, then, the rule, that if the verb be both preceded and followed by either a subject or an object, to each of which it equally in idea belongs, it may be regarded as directly construed with the latter of the two, and may accordingly receive the accent.

Instances coming under the action of this rule are not very rare in the Atharvan. They are* iv. 5. 2; 9. 9. v. 18. 8; 27. 6. vi. 55. 2; 92. 3; 106. 1; 107. 1–4. vii. 4. 1. viii. 9. 13; 10. 12, 13, 22–29. ix. 5. 37. x. 8. 8. xii. 3. 25, 48. xiii. 1. 19; 2. 26; 3. 12. xiv. 1. 64. xv. 3. 4, 5, 10;

* In a few of these passages, viz. viii. 10. 12, 13, 22–29. xv. 4. 1–6, the accent has, owing to a misunderstanding, been omitted from the verbs in the published text, and requires to be restored, in accordance with the unanimous authority of the manuscripts.

4. 1–6. xviii. 3. 8. In a few of these passages, however, the accent of the verb admits also of being explained in another manner, as we shall see hereafter.

But on the other hand, it is quite as often the case in sentences of this character that the more obvious mode of division is followed, so that the verb remains unaccented. Instances are i. 12. 3. iii. 13. 6. viii. 10. 16. ix. 10. 26. xi. 9. 10. xv. 12. 5, 9. xvii. 17. xviii. 2. 7; 4. 11. xix. 10. 7; 36. 2; etc., etc.

Before proceeding to take notice of farther instances of verbal accentuation in the independent sentence, which are to be regarded as more special exceptions to the rules already stated, or as isolated and irregular cases, requiring particular explanation, we will consider the condition of the verb in a dependent clause.

The Sanskrit, like the German, distinguishes in a marked manner its accessory and dependent from its direct and independent clauses, by its different treatment of the verb in the two cases. But while the German removes the verb of the subordinate sentence from its natural position, and places it at the end of the sentence, thus changing, for instance, "Ich habe dem Manne das Buch gegeben" to "Da ich dem Manne das Buch gegeben habe," the Sanskrit, on the other hand, alters in a similar case not the position, but the accentuation, of the verb, changing it from enclitic to orthotone. We have, accordingly, the following general rule: the Sanskrit verb retains in a dependent clause its own proper accent; and that, too, even at the cost, in case the verb be one compounded with a preposition, of the accent of the prefixed preposition.

As in German the dependent clause is wont to be introduced by some word of such signification as necessarily conditions its dependency, a relative or a subordinating conjunction, so also in Sanskrit it generally contains some form, of declension or of derivation, from the relative pronominal stem य, *ya*. The phenomenon, indeed, has on this account been always hitherto thus stated: "the verb is accented in a sentence which contains a form of य, *ya*;" but it is impossible that we should remain contented with so empirical a rule as this; we must inquire in virtue of what principle it is that such words have a power to make the verb orthotone. And that the principle is indeed what it has above

been stated to be may be very satisfactorily shown. For other particles than those derived from the stem य, *ya*, if they have a like meaning, and possess the same power to render the sentence dependent, exercise the same influence upon the verb.

Thus चेत्, *cet* (which the *pada*-text divides into चा३इत्, *ca it*), which means always distinctly "if," and is accordingly equivalent to यदि, *yadi*, preserves, as the latter would do, the accent of the verb with which it is connected. Instances of its occurrence are ii. 30. 2. v. 17. 3, 8, etc.

But च, *ca*, itself, without always losing its proper signification "and," or meaning distinctly "if," is not very infrequently made use of to assist in indicating the conditionality of a clause, whose verb is then left orthotone. An instance is

स चेत्तिस्रोऽश्नुयात्र चेत्तिस्रोन्न श्नुयात्

sá cêt 'tisrjéj juhuyâ'n ná cêt 'tisrjén ná juhuyât (xv. 12. 3), "And should he give permission, let him sacrifice; and should he not give permission, let him not sacrifice." Sometimes, indeed, the particle almost precisely equals यदि, *yadi*, as in the following passage:

हिंस्ते अदत्ता पुरुषं याचितां च न दित्सति

hínste ádattâ púrusham yâcitâ'm ca ná dítsati (xii. 4. 13), "Ungiven she harms a man, if he will not give her when demanded." The conditionality of the clause is the main efficient cause of the accenting of the verb; whether the particle has a full conditional meaning, or is employed merely as an expedient for facilitating the expression, is a matter of minor consequence. The other Atharvan passages of this character are viii. 10. 31. xi. 3. 28, 29, 32–49a, 55, 56. xii. 4. 1, 16, 19, 25.

Whether a clause in any case, without the presence of a word conditioning or indicating its dependent character, can be in such wise dependent as that its verb should be thereby rendered orthotone, is a question for the solution of which the Atharvan hardly presents sufficient material. There is but a single passage which seems to speak clearly with reference to this point:

उदकं याचत्युद्गायति

udakám yâ'caty úd gâyati (ix. 6. 48),
"If he offers water" (the hymn is extolling the merit of hospitable attentions paid to guests), "he sings a *sâman*" (that is, "it is of equal virtue with the religious action of singing a *sâman*"). Here the conditionality of the first clause seems to be the sufficient cause of the accent of the verb; and on the other hand, a comparison of the preceding clauses, as

अभि वदति प्र स्तौति

abhí vadati prá stauti,
"If he greets them, he utters praise," would seem to lead us to the recognition of this rule: that in such a situation the verb was left orthotone, except when compounded with a preposition, in which latter case the preposition still retained the accent.* But this single passage is not sufficient to establish a general rule: it is to be hoped that material may be derived from the other accented texts which shall clear up the matter. There is, so far as I have observed, but one other passage in the Atharvan, where it seems necessary to regard a clause as conditional which contains no indicatory particle; viz:

एतद्वो ज्योतिः पितरस्तृतीयं पञ्चौदनं ब्रह्मणे ऽजं ददाति

etád vo jyótiḥ pitaras tṛtî'yam páñcâudanam brahmáṇe ǵjám dadâti (ix. 5. 11),
"This is (i. e. wins) your third (i. e. highest) brightness, ye Fathers, that one gives to a Brahman a goat with five *odanas*." And here the verb is left unaccented, although not a compounded one. Whether the accentuation in either of these passages is erroneous, or how the seeming discrepancy between them is to be otherwise explained, I must leave an open question, until more light can be thrown upon the subject from other sources.

There is one other passage which might appear to require consideration in this connection:

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* See Benfey's Grammar, § 127. 1 (remark), 5, 9 (remark 1), 11, for instances of this difference in accentual usage between the simple and compounded verb.

लक्ष्म कुर्व इति मन्यते

lákshma kurva íti mányate (xii. 4. 6),
"If he thinks to himself 'I am making a mark;'" yet the evidence to be derived from this is not wholly unambiguous, as it would not be altogether inadmissible to suppose the influence of the relative pronoun with which the verse begins to extend itself to this part also.

It is a well known fact that, by Vedic usage, the particle हि, *hi*, always accents the verb with which it is construed (as does also its negative, नहि, *nahi*). This also I ascribe to the conditional force inherent in it. It is, indeed, originally possessed of no such force; etymologically, it seems to be merely an asseverative particle, akin with ह, *ha*, and अह, *aha*. It is, accordingly, in the later language not infrequently employed as an expletive, to fill out the artificial structure of the *çloka;* and it is sometimes, even in the Veda, found so used, having a hardly appreciable significance in the sentence in which it occurs. But it is ordinarily made use of to accompany and point out a circumstance which is put forward as the ground of, the reason for, the inducement to, some other action; and by virtue of this usage, it has acquired a certain degree of causative or conditional force. The transition of meaning may be illustrated by an example or two. If we say "Help us, thou art surely mighty," (German "Hilf uns, du bist ja mächtig,") there is no distinct subordination of the latter clause to the former, and yet the second clause is evidently alleged as the reason of the first, and it is but a step farther to say "Help us, for thou art mighty." The Sanskrit sentence

प्र नो अव बलवान्ह्यसि

prá no ava bálavân hy ási,
would ordinarily, and with perfect correctness, be translated as equivalent to the latter form of the phrase; while it would nevertheless, strictly taken, rather correspond to the former. Indeed, as हि, *hi*, is never allowed to stand at the beginning of a sentence in Sanskrit, but must always follow some other word, and as it thus, although not enclitic, holds a subordinate position, it is still more clearly shown

to be unequal in force to our conjunction "for." In German, not even "for" gives to the clause which it introduces a dependent form: we say "Hilf uns, denn du bist mächtig:" yet the difference between this and the dependent clause "... weil du mächtig bist," "... because thou art mighty," is rather a formal than a logical one. There is a continuous scale of dependency in the phrases "thou art surely mighty," "for thou art mighty," "since thou art mighty," "because that thou art mighty," and while in German only the last is regarded as dependent, in Sanskrit the first is treated as if equivalent to any of the rest, and its verb is accented, according to the general rule for dependent clauses. We may reverse the order of the clauses in the example we have taken, and write

बलवान्ह्यसि प्र नो अव

bálavân hy ási prá no ava;

and here too we have the verb accented, as if the translation were "Since thou art mighty, help us," "Da du ja mächtig bist, so hilf uns;" while, if closely interpreted, it is rather, "Thou art surely mighty, (then) help us," "Du bist ja mächtig, (also) hilf uns;" the particle hardly exercising a stronger force than to establish the relation of the two clauses as *protasis* and *apodosis*.

In almost every instance of the occurrence of हि, *hi*, in the Atharvan, it has more or less evidently this semi-conditional force. Thus we have

उग्रा हि कण्वजम्भनी तामभक्षि सहस्वतीम्

ugrâ' hí kaṇvajámbhanî tâ'm abhakshi sáhasvatîm (ii. 25. 1), "Since it is a fierce destroyer of the *kaṇva*, it, the mighty, I have made use of." And again,

वि ते मुञ्चन्तां विमुचो हि सन्ति

ví té muñcantâm vimúco hí sánti* (vi. 112. 3),

"Let them release him, for they are releasers." It would

* The printed text gives, on the authority of all the manuscripts, *te;* but the emendation as above is evidently necessary. In many other cases also, the manuscripts confound *te* and *té*.

be easy to multiply examples, but it is believed that enough has already been said to establish and illustrate that which it was our purpose to show; that the particle in question derives its power to render the verb orthotone from the weak causative signification which the usage of the language has given it.

With regard to the particle नेत्, *net* (*pada*-text ना इत्, *na it*), usage is divided. It occurs, in connection with a verb, but four times in the Atharvan. In two passages, viz. vi. 50. 1. xiii. 1. 12, it renders the verb orthotone, as if, like the kindred particle चेत्, *cet*, already treated of, it had acquired a subordinating force, and were equivalent to Latin *ne*, German *dass nicht!*; in the other two passages, viz. ii. 27. 1. xviii. 2. 58, it leaves the verb enclitic, as if the इत्, *it*, merely strengthened the force of the negative, as should be its most natural effect.

The three particles चेत्, *cet*, नेत्, *net*, and हि, *hi*, illustrate in an interesting manner each other's history. Neither of them has etymologically any relative or subordinating quality; they mean originally simply "and surely," "not surely," "surely;" but each has in the usage of the language developed out of this plain asseverative signification another which gives it the power to render the clause in which it is found dependent; and as "if," "lest," and "since," they make orthotone the verb with which they are construed.

The particle किम्, *kim*, nowhere in the Atharvan exercises an influence upon the accent of the verb in its clause, even where, as in vii. 56. 6, 8, viii. 4. 14(?). xviii. 1. 12, 33, it appears to ask a direct question. In v. 11. 5, *pâda* c, a part of the manuscripts do indeed accent the verb, yet the weight of authority is in favor of the text as printed. When the particle means "what?", "why?", or "how!", as in v. 13. 7. vi. 45. 1. ix. 10. 18, etc., etc., of course no effect upon the accent would be expected from it.

We have thus seen that the direct subordination of one clause of a sentence to another has an effect to render orthotone the verb of the subordinated clause. We have also remarked, when treating of the particle हि, *hi*, that the subordination does not always require to be absolute, but that a distinctly defined relation of two of the clauses of a sentence to one another as *protasis* and *apodosis* was sufficient to

preserve the accent of the verb in the former clause. We have now farther to notice, that this principle has in the usage of the language received a somewhat inorganic extension; that it has been stretched to cover cases to which it did not in strictness apply. Such I conceive, namely, to be the explanation of the accent of the verb in a very considerable number of passages, where two clauses stand as correlatives to one another, or even where there is such a parallelism between them that they may be regarded as in a manner correlative. The coördination is treated as if it were a subordination; the first of the coördinate clauses is looked upon as a *protasis*, to which the other constitutes an *apodosis*, and the verb of the former is allowed to remain orthotone.

Thus, for instance, when अन्य–अन्य, *anya–anya*, "the one —the other," stand opposed to one another, as subject or as object, in two like clauses, the verb of the first clause retains its accent. Take as examples

दक्षं ते अन्य आवातु व्यन्यो वातु यद्रपः

dákshaṁ te anyá âvâ'tu vy ànyó vâtu yád rápaḥ* (iv. 13. 2);

न्यन्यं चिक्युर्न नि चिक्युरन्यम्

ny ànyáṁ cikyúr ná ní cikyur anyám (ix. 10. 16).

The other instances are vii. 81. 1. ix. 9. 20; 10. 26. x. 7. 42. xiii. 2. 11. Also the passage vii. 35. 1a, b, may properly be regarded as coming under this rule, although only one अन्य, *anya*, that of the first clause, is there expressed; the other is contained in idea in the second clause.

In two cases, viz. x. 8. 36. xi. 8. 33, we have, instead of अन्य, *anya*, एक–एक, *eka—eka*, with the same meaning, and with a similar effect upon the accent of the verb.

In x. 8. 7, 13. xi. 4. 22, we find a like correlation produced by the use of अर्ध–अर्ध, *ardha—ardha*, "the one half—the other half."

But even where the correlation is less clearly and sharply brought out, if there is nevertheless a distinct antithesis, the same phenomenon of verbal accentuation is not infrequently presented. Thus we have in vi. 11. 3 an antithesis of "else-

* The reading of the printed text is false, and must be amended to agree with this.

where" and "here;" in xii. 2. 32, 55, of "those there" and "these here;" in iv. 5. 7, of "others" and "myself;" in vi. 67. 3, of motion "away" and "hither;" in ix. 10. 9, of "to-day" and "yesterday;" in ix. 10. 23, of an idea and its negation. Moreover, wherever वा—वा, *vâ—vâ*, "either—or," are construed in two clauses with two separate verbs, the correlation is regarded as distinct enough to occasion the accenting of the first verb; the instances are not numerous, but they are all those in which this particle so occurs; they are v. 1. 7 (where, however, the effect of the relative in the second clause might possibly be supposed to extend back into the first), viii. 4. 9. In the following passage,

तस्य॑ वा त्वं मन॑ इ॒च्छा स॒ वा॒ तव॑

tásya vâ tvám mána ichâ' ṣá vâ táva (xviii. 1. 16),

the accent of the verb is unquestionably due to the same cause, although the sentence is incomplete, a part of the second clause, including its verb, being left to be supplied in idea from the first. More numerous are the cases in which the antithesis of च—च, *ca—ca*, "both—and," produces the same effect: they are ii. 6. 2; 13. 3. v. 4. 9; 23. 7 (where we have also, as in ix. 10. 23, the antithesis of an idea and its negation), vi. 110. 1. xiii. 1. 34 (*ter*). xvii. 6. xix. 24. 5, 6. In vii. 5. 5 is a like antithesis of उत—उत, *uta—uta*, unless we are rather to suppose the correlative force to lie in the two contrasted instrumentals. The following passage,

स्त्रिय॑श्च सर्वाः स्वाप॑य शुनश्चेन्द्र॑सखा चर॑न्

stríyaç ca sárvâḥ svâpáya çúnaç cé 'ndrasakhâ cáran (iv. 5. 2),

has been included above among the instances of initial accentuation, but is perhaps rather to be explained as an antithetical sentence of the class here treated of, of which the second member is defective, its verb requiring to be supplied from the first, as in the passage xviii. 1. 16, just now cited. Several other of the passages formerly referred to may also receive a similar explanation: thus iv. 9. 9 (where जम्भयत्, *jambhayat*, perhaps requires to be amended to जम्भय, *jambhaya*), v. 27. 6. vi. 107. 1–4. vii. 4. 1. ix. 5. 37. xii. 3. 25: while vi. 106. 1. viii. 9. 13. xiii. 3. 12. xiv. 1. 64, admit of being looked upon as defective antitheses of the other kinds here treated of.

Besides these, there are a few passages, composed each of two clauses, in the first of which the verb is left orthotone, where the antithesis is less distinctly marked than in the cases hitherto noted, while nevertheless their accentuation seems to be referable to the same principle. They are vi. 32. 2; 83. 1. ix. 5. 22; 8. 10. xii. 3. 18. xiii. 2. 30 b. xiv. 1. 13. Had we these passages only, we should not venture to derive from them any such principle; but, having well established it as a tendency of the language to assume, even on slight occasion, an antithetical relation, and to accent accordingly, we are justified in presuming its extension to these cases also.

We have thus far found all the phenomena of verbal accentuation of which we have taken note to be occasioned, more or less regularly and directly, by the working of a single principle; that, namely, the verb in an independent clause is accented only when occupying the initial position, being otherwise made enclitic upon any member of the same clause by which it is preceded; while, on the other hand, it maintains in a dependent clause its own proper accent. But there are in the Atharvan a number of instances of accented verbs, which do not seem to fall so clearly within the sphere of action of this principle: either they are the effect of a wholly irregular extension of it beyond its proper limits, or they are due to the operation of some other principle, which needs to be evolved and stated, or they are isolated cases, destitute of all analogies, and on that account of doubtful authenticity. Before we proceed to the consideration of these remaining cases, we must take notice of the condition in which the accentuation of the Atharvan is presented by the manuscripts of the text now extant. The whole text is very much less accurately and correctly constructed than is that of the Rik: there are to be found in it gross blunders, of which the correction is almost at the first sight apparent, and many passages are in a very corrupt state, requiring extensive emendation. But it especially abounds in palpable errors of accentuation: many of these we have even not hesitated to amend in the published edition: thus, words of frequent occurrence have been in an instance or two accented upon the wrong syllable; nominatives have been erroneously taken for vocatives, and deprived of their accent, or vocatives have been falsely regarded as nominatives, and

have received an accent to which they were not entitled; the true point of division between the two *pâdas* of a line has been mistaken, and vocatives and verbal forms have been in consequence wrongly accented, or left unaccented, as they were wrongly supposed to stand, or not to stand, at the beginning of the second *pâda;* the verb of a clearly dependent clause, even after a form of the relative य, *ya*, has been left enclitic; and so on. More than a hundred such cases have been corrected by us in the published text, and not a few which we have left untouched still call for emendation: our commentary will, of course, fully explain and account for the alterations we have made in the text offered by the manuscripts, and will point out the places where we suppose that farther alteration is demanded. It may then, of course, not very infrequently be the case, that verbal forms are erroneously accented by the manuscripts; it would be strange if it were not so, at least in some instances; yet in so much uncertainty has the subject of verbal accentuation hitherto been involved, that we have only very rarely, and in cases which seemed quite clear, ventured to take away from a verb an accent which our authorities gave to it. Sometimes, indeed, we have allowed ourselves even that liberty: I will proceed to give the instances here, in order to avoid the possibility of having omitted from this paper material which ought to be embraced in it.

Thus, in iv. 32. 1, we have read

सद्य ओजः पुष्यति विश्वमानुषक्

sáha ójaḥ pushyati víçvam ânushák,

while all the manuscripts give ओजः पुष्यति, *ójaḥ púshyati*, because the former reading seems better to suit the sense, and because the Rig-Veda, in the corresponding passage (x. 83. 1), leaves the verb unaccented. It might, nevertheless, not be impossible to account for the reading as given by the Atharvan manuscripts: if we regard the two words preceding the verb as objects of the verb of the preceding *pâda*, or, better, if we look upon the word following the verb as a noun constituting an independent object of it, translating "might, strength—he acquires everything in succession," then the verb would be entitled to be accented in virtue of its initial position.

Again, in iv. 31. 2, stands in the text

अग्निरिव मन्यो त्विषितः सहस्व सेनानीर्नः सहुरे

agnír iva manyo tvishitáḥ sahasva senânî'r naḥ sahure

हूत एधि

hûtá edhi,

whereas all the *sanhitâ* manuscripts (excepting one, which is amended to the above reading) give सहस्व, *sáhasva.* The Rik (x. 84. 2) leaves the verb unaccented, which, with the *pada* manuscript, and the amended *sanhitâ*, seemed to us sufficient authority for the reading which we have adopted. Yet even here I do not regard the accenting of the verb as certainly erroneous: it might be defended by the analogy of vi. 32. 2, and of the other passages cited with the latter above, as an indistinct antithesis.

Another case, iv. 31. 7, is clearer; we read

पराजितासो अप नि लयन्ताम्

párâjitâso ápa ní layantâm,

spite of the authority of the manuscripts, which are unanimous in favor of लयन्ताम्, *láyantâm.* Here also the Rik (x. 84. 7) has the former reading, nor does there seem to be any conceivable reason why the verb should be accented, nor, if it were so, could the preceding preposition maintain its accent also, as the manuscripts allow it to do. We have evidently a mere blunder of the manuscripts to deal with in this passage.

In iii. 2. 1, all the manuscripts read

अग्निर्नो दूतः प्रत्येतु विद्वान्

agnír no dûtáḥ pratyétu vidvâ'n,

which we have altered to प्रत्येतु, *práty etu.* The analogy of the first line of the preceding hymn was sufficient authority for the alteration, and it is not easy to see how the manuscripts should have come to commit the error of accenting the verb here; unless, possibly, they were led away by the fancied analogy of the last *pâda* of the second verse in the

preceding hymn, where it is in fact the presence of a हि, *hi*, that makes the verb orthotone.*

In v. 12. 2, the manuscripts have

तनूनपात्पथ ऋतस्य यानान्मधा समञ्जन्त्स्वदया सुजिह्व

tánûnapât pathá ṛtásya yâ'nân mádhvâ samañjánt svadáyâ sujihva,

while the printed text gives स्वदया, *svadayâ*. The latter reading was adopted on the authority of the corresponding passage in the Rik (x. 110. 2), as there seemed to be no reason requiring the verb to be accented. Yet here also, it might be possible to defend the reading of the manuscripts: if the accusative in the first *pâda* be regarded as the object more directly of the participle than of the verb, as would be allowable, the latter might be looked upon as occupying an initial position, and therefore entitled to retain its accent.

Again, in vi. 131. 2, the edition has

आकूते समिदं नमः

â'kûte sám idám namaḥ,

while all the manuscripts agree in reading नमः, *námaḥ*. The propriety of the emendation cannot be questioned: the false reading may have been a mere slip of the pen on the part of the scribe of the original manuscript, or the word may have been mistaken for the frequent noun नमः, *námaḥ*.

Another very similar instance is found in xviii. 2. 36,

शं तप मातिं तपो अग्ने मा तन्वं१ तपः

çám tapa mâ' 'ti tapo ágne mâ' tanvàm tápaḥ:

here, too, there seems to be no assignable reason why the last word should be accented: I suspect it to have been taken, by a blunder, for the common noun तपः *tápaḥ*, "penance," and would alter the reading to तन्वं तपः, *tanvàm tapaḥ*.

Once more, in xiv. 1. 16,

तदद्धातय इद्विदुः

tád addhâtáya íd viduḥ,

* But where, by an error of the press, *práty etu* stands, instead of *pratyétu*, which the manuscripts correctly give.

all the Atharvan manuscripts give इद्विदुः, *id vidúḥ*: as the accent of the verb seemed in this passage quite unexplainable, we have not hesitated to amend it to an agrement with the parallel passage of the Rik (x. 85. 16).

These are all the instances in which we have taken away from any verbal form an accent given to it by the manuscripts; excepting two, which bear plainly on their face the evidence that they are blunders, being accented upon the wrong syllable. These are i. 24. 1, रूपं चक्रे *rûpáṁ cakre*, for which all the manuscripts have चक्रे, *cákre*, while the true accentuation of the form, if accented at all, would be चक्रे, *cakré*; and xii. 4. 28; देवा वृश्चन्ति, *devâ' vṛçcanti*, in place of which the manuscripts unanimously read वृश्चन्ति, *vṛ'çcanti*, although only the accentuation वृश्चन्ति, *vṛçcánti*, could be tolerated. It is sufficiently clear that, in both these cases, the errors are due to a slip of the pen of the scribe who copied the original manuscript from which all ours are descended, the mark of the accent being set over the wrong syllable.

In the light of these facts, which indicate clearly what allowance is to be made for inaccuracies and errors in the text, we may now proceed to examine the remaining instances of accented verbs which it presents.

In iii. 23. 5, we have

यस्तुभ्यं शमसक्मु तस्मै त्वं भव

yás túbhyaṁ çám ásac chám u tásmâi tvám bháva.

The most natural ending to the verse would seem to be

शमु यस्मै त्वं भवः

çám u yásmâi tvám bhávaḥ,

"and to whom thou in turn mayest be propitious;" and it is perhaps not impossible that this is felt to be virtually present in the reading as given, and that therefore the imperative is accented; yet there is room to suspect भव, *bháva*, to be a mere slip of the pen for भव, *bhava*.

Again, in iv. 1. 4c,

महान्मही अस्कभायद्वि जातः

mahâ'n mahî' áskabhâyad ví jâtáḥ,

it is very hard to see why the verb should have in this *pâda* an accent which it lacks in the preceding one, where the construction seems to be the same. Probably we have to amend to अस्क°, *askabhâyad.*

In verse 7 of the same hymn, in the last *pâda*,

कविर्देवो न दभायत्स्वधावान्

kavír devó ná dábhâyat svadhâ'vân,

we seem, indeed, to have an accented verbal form; but it is only in seeming; for दभायत्, *dábhâyat*, is unquestionably to be amended to दभाय, *dábhâya*, dative of दभ, *dabha;* and the passage means, he "is not for a harming," i. e. "is not one who can be harmed." This construction, frequent enough in the Rik, is quite rare in the Atharvan, and in one or two other instances has been badly blundered over by the establishers of the text. If we had here, it may be remarked, a verbal form requiring accent, it would have to be accented दभायत्, *dabhâyát.*

Again, in iv. 19. 2,

न तत्र भयमस्ति यत्र प्राप्नोष्योषधे

ná tátra bhayám ásti yátra prâpnóshy oshadhe,

I am inclined to attribute the hardly otherwise explainable accent of the first verb to an original error of transcription, and to amend to भयमस्ति, *bhayám asti.*

Again, in v. 18. 4,

निर्वै क्षत्रं नयति हन्ति वर्चः

nír vâ'i kshatrám náyati hánti várcaḥ,

we might suspect नयति, *náyati*, to be an error for नयति, *nayati;* yet it seems better here to assume an antithesis between the two clauses, of force enough to render orthotone the verb of the first.

Again, in vi. 21. 3, we have

उत स्थ केशदृंहणीरथो ह केशवर्धनीः

utá sthá keçadṛ'ṁhaṇîr átho ha keçavárdhanîḥ.

Here, too, it may be made a question whether we are to find a sufficient antithesis to account for the accent of the verb, or whether we are to suppose that the accent-sign has been slipped away from the स्थ, *stha*, to the succeeding syllable. I incline to prefer the former.

Again, in vi. 32. 1, the printed text gives

अन्तर्दावे ज़ुहुता स्वेऽतत्

antardâvé juhutâ sv ètát,

but it is by an error of the press, for ज़ुहुता, *juhutâ'*, which is the reading of the manuscripts. But I conceive this to be a reversal of the original error by which the verb got its accent in the manuscripts, as I am unable to find any reason why it should be left orthotone.

In the passage vi. 60. 2,

अङ्गो न्वर्यमन्नस्या अन्याः समनमार्यति

angó nv àryamann asyâ' anyâ'h sámanam â'yati,

the *pada*-text divides the last word आऽअर्यति, *â-áyati*, thus giving the verb an accent. But I do not see how the form, which is elsewhere always singular, can be borne as a plural; it may, perhaps, be amended to आर्यन्ति, that is, आ।अयन्ति, *â' ayanti.*

A similar case is vi. 131. 3,

ततस्त्वं पुनरार्यसि

tátas tvám púnar â'yasi,

which the *pada*-text understands to be आऽअर्यसि, *â-áyasi*, whereas it is rather आ।अयसि, *â' ayasi.*

Again, in vi. 78. 2,

रय्या सहस्रवर्चसेमौ स्तामनुपक्षितौ

rayyâ' sahásravarcase 'mâ'u stâ'm ánupakshitâu,

I can discover no ground for preserving to the verb its accent, and believe the accent-sign to have become lost from under it. I would read स्ताम°, *stâm*, etc.

Again, in vi. 128. 1,

इदं राष्ट्रमसादिति

idám râshṭrám ásâd íti,

we are perhaps to assume that an accent-sign has been omitted under the syllable म, *ma*, the restoration of which would leave the verb unaccented.

Again, in viii. 10. 1,

इयमेवेदं भविष्यतीति

iyám evé 'dám bhavishyátî' 'ti,

it may be that the last horizontal accent-sign has been slipped away from its place, and that we have to amend to भविष्यतीति, *bhavishyatî' 'ti.*

Had we these two instances only, of clauses cited by means of the particle of quotation इति, *iti*, we should be inclined to regard them as cases of the accenting of the verb in a dependent clause; since a quoted sentence is in fact a kind of dependent sentence, and is so treated in some languages, being distinguished in German, for instance, by the use of the subjunctive instead of the indicative mood. And perhaps we may be allowed to explain thus the accent of the two clauses under consideration, even though no other analogous passages can be adduced to support this explanation. For, of all the numerous cases in the text (more than thirty), where a clause containing a verb is cited by the particle इति, *iti*, these two are the only ones in which the verb receives an accent. Elsewhere, the quotation is made in the form of an independent sentence, just as it would be spoken; and that, whether it be the direct object of a verb of speaking, as in i. 7. 4, or whether it indicate the "reason why," or the "end for which" (which was its use in the two passages last quoted), as in x. 2. 5. Other instances are iv. 17. 4; 20. 6. v. 19. 9; 23. 1, etc., etc.

Again, in xiv. 1. 32,

विश्वे देवाः क्रन्निह वो मनांसि

víçve devâ'h kránn ihá vo mánâṅsi,

I can discover no reason why the verb should be accented,

and suspect the true reading to be क्रन्निह, *krann iha*, a sign of accent having been lost in the manuscripts.

Again, in xix. 31. 6,

अहं पशूनामधिपा असानि मयि पुष्टं पुष्टपतिर्दधातु

ahám paçûnâ'm adhipâ' ásâni máyi pushṭám pushṭapátir dadhâtu, it seems very uncertain whether the antithesis can be regarded as being distinct enough to warrant the accenting of the verb in the first *pâda*. And it is moreover to be noticed, that in the nineteenth book of the text the manuscripts are most especially faulty, so that their authority in doubtful and difficult cases is of almost no weight whatever. I have not pretended to give above all the instances in which we have amended in this book the accentuation of verbs: a record of them may be found among the foot-notes to each page. We need not, then, hesitate to amend to असानि, *asâni*, if it shall seem desirable, in the passage now under consideration.

In the passages thus far treated, we have been inclined to suspect an error in the tradition of the text, where the verbal accent has not appeared to be explainable by ordinary rules and analogies. But there are others in which we seem to discover irregular and anomalous applications of some of the rules previously stated; which we can hardly regard as errors of transcription, but which may possibly be, at least in part, errors of apprehension on the part of those who established the text. Whether they are to be understood in this way, or whether they are true and faithfully recorded phenomena of the Vedic language, only of a sporadic character, and not reducible to strict rule, may be better determined when we have before us cases of a like character from the other accented texts also.

We have, in i. 20. 1,

अस्मिन्यज्ञे मरुतो मृडता नः

asmín yajñé màruto mṛdátâ naḥ.

Here the verb is accented as immediately following a vocative, although the latter does not stand at the head of a *pâda*, and has not itself an accent, as ought to be the case, if the verb is to remain orthotone.

A similar case is found in i. 32. 1;

इदं जनासो विदथं महद्ब्रह्म वदिष्यति

idáṁ janâso vidátha mahád bráhma vadishyati.

The reading विदथं, *vidátha*, may be looked upon as somewhat suspicious here, since the sense requires rather an imperative form than an indicative, and since the Atharvan offers no other instance of a form in the present tense of either mood from this root, as conjugated after the manner of the sixth conjugation-class. But neither consideration is conclusive against the genuineness of the reading, for analogous forms occur in the Rik, and the substitution in the Veda of indicative for imperative is by no means unknown. And the passage is so closely analogous to xx. 127. 1,

इदं जना उप श्रुत नाराशंस्तविष्यते

idáṁ janâ úpa çruta nârâçaṁsá stavishyate,

that it seems better to retain the word in question unchanged, and not to amend it to विदथं, *vidátham*, as it would be very easy to do, making a fair sense. The accenting of the form would be, as in the preceding case, an irregular extension of the rule for accenting after a vocative. We might possibly understand इदं, *idaṁ*, as a mere exclamation, translating "See here, ye people! hear!" which would account for the accent; but the analogy of ii. 12. 2, इदं देवाः शृणुत, *idáṁ devâḥ cṛṇuta*, is against it, nor do I know any other instance of such a use of इदम्, *idam*.

Again, in i. 30. 1,

विश्वे देवा वसवो रक्षतिममुतादित्या जागृत यूयमस्मिन्

viçve devâ vásavo rákshate 'mám utâ' "dityâ jâgṛtá yûyám asmín,

the accenting of the verb in the second clause may be looked upon as of kindred character with that in the two passages last treated of. Yet the sentence may be also so divided as to make the verb virtually the first word in its clause; if, namely, we translate "All ye gods, ye Vasus, guard this person; and ye Adityas likewise, watch ye over him."

Again, in xiv. 2. 42, we have

युवं ब्रह्मणो ऽनुमन्यमानौ बृहस्पते साकमिन्द्रश्च दत्तम्

yuvám brahmáṇe s numányamânâu br'haspate sâkám índraç ca dattám.

Here the structure of the sentence appears to be understood as if the words between the vocative and the verb in the second *pâda* were a kind of parenthesis merely, so that the latter is accented as if it immediately followed the former. "Do ye two .... O Bṛhaspati, Indra also along with you, grant."

Again, in xi. 2. 2,

शुने क्रोष्ट्रे मा शरीराणि कर्तमलिक्लवेभ्यः

çúne kroshṭré mâ' çárîrâṇi kártam alíklavebhyaḥ, etc.,

we have the verb accented, as it seems to me, by an irregular application of the rule allowing the verb to be treated as if directly construed with the following, instead of with the preceding object. The first two words of this passage do indeed stand in the same relation to the verb as the last one, and, so far as they alone were concerned, the verb would be entitled to remain accented: but the introduction of the other two limiting words alters the case, and should render it enclitic again: this, however, appears to have been overlooked, or else deliberately neglected. I do not see any other way of accounting for the accent of the verb here.

Again, in xviii. 4. 54, we have

ऊर्जो भागो य इमं जजानाप्मान्नानामाधिपत्यं जगाम

ûrjó bhágó yá imám jajâ'nâ' 'çmâ' 'nnânâm â'dhipatyam jagâ'ma.

The meaning and connection of this passage are very obscure; I do not understand them sufficiently to be able to say whether the last verb is correctly accented, as being of the same construction with the first, or whether it should rather be made enclitic, as belonging to an independent clause, or whether its accentuation is to be accounted for in some other manner.

Again, in i. 17. 2c, d, is read

कनिष्ठिका च तिष्ठति तिष्ठादिद्धमनिर्मही

kanishṭhikâ' ca tíshṭhati tíshṭhâd id dhamánir mahî'.

This seems to be an incomplete construction of the kind noted above, where an antithesis sufficient to accent the verb of the former clause is produced by the particles च—च, *ca–ca*, "both—and." In this case the second clause contains, instead of च, *ca*, इत्, *it*, but the effect may be looked upon as being virtually the same.

A similar case, perhaps, in found in v. 12. 1,

आ च वक्ं मित्रमकश्चिकित्वान्त्वं दूतः कविरसि प्रचेताः

â' ca váha mitramahaç cikitvâ'n tvám dûtáḥ kavír asi prácetâḥ.

Here the accent of the first verb is at any rate assured to it by the fact that the corresponding Rik passage (x. 110. 1) has the same reading. We might possibly conjecture, as the cause of it, such an incomplete antithesis as was supposed in the last case, the completion of the construction being broken off by an *anacoluthon*. Or we may assign to the particle च, *ca*, such an office as हि, *hi*, would fill, if used in place of it (compare vi. 27. 2. viii. 1. 6.); "bring hither, etc.; [in that case, or if thou so dost] thou art our messenger, etc."

Again, in vii. 35. 1c, d,

इदं राष्ट्रं पिपृहि सौभगाय विश्व एनमनु मदन्तु देवाः

idám râshṭrám pipṛhí sâ'ubhagâya víçva enam ánu madantu devâ'ḥ,

the accenting of the verb in the first *pâda* seems to be the effect of the assumption of an antithesis between the two clauses, which is facilitated, perhaps, by the more distinct antithetical construction of the preceding line of the couplet.

In viii. 7. 21, we find

उज्जिह्वीधे स्तनयत्यभिक्रन्दत्योषधीः

új jihîdhve stanáyaty abhikrándaty oshadhîḥ,

while अभि क्रन्दति, *abhí krandati*, would seem to be the easier and more natural reading. We cannot well assume here an error of transcription, nor can we plausibly regard the two verbal forms as locatives of the present participle. I do not understand the reason of the accent as it stands.

In xi. 9. 9, 11, 25, we have, three times repeated, the words

अमित्रेषु समीक्षयन्

amítreshu samîkshâyan,

which can hardly be translated otherwise than "may they show themselves among our enemies;" so that the accent should be, according to general analogies, समीक्षयन्, *sám îkshayan.* But there is something especial and unusual about this phrase, inserted each time, as it is, where it seems not particularly in place; and it may have some relation or significance which I have not discovered. At present I am compelled to pass by the accent as problematical.

There are three passages in which the word बभूव, *babhûva,* is accented, at the end of the line, in a manner which is not accounted for by any general rule. They are as follows:

.... स्वस ऋषीणां भूतकृतां बभूव

svásа r'shîṇâm bhûtakr'tâm babhû'va (vi. 133. 4);

.... मधुमन्मध्यं वीरुधां बभूव

mádhuman mádhyam vîrúdhâm babhû'va (viii. 7. 12);

.... अदब्धचक्षुः परि विश्वं बभूव

ádabdhacakshuḥ pári víçvam babhû'va (xiii. 2. 44).

In neither of these cases is the clause a dependent one, or a member of an antithesis, nor am I able to discover any special ground for the accent of the verbs. It is to be noted, however, that the verbal form here in question stands in the Atharvan very often, indeed, in almost every case in which it occurs at all, at the end of a *pâda;* and that in numerous instances (seventeen in all) it receives an accent in that position; not without a distinct reason, it is true, in each case, such as is wanting in the three passages now under consideration; yet it may be that the frequent occurrence of that ending led to the transference of its accentuation to these three passages: the tonic cadence was familiar to the ear, and was accordingly intruded upon a few lines to which it did not properly belong. This explanation, however, I do not regard as very satisfactory, especially as there are also in the text nineteen cases of the same word standing unac-

cented at the end of a *pâda;* I only offer it as the most plausible one which I am able to suggest.

It will be noticed that no other general principle of verbal accentuation than that first enunciated has been regarded as established, or even suggested, by the passages which we have cited. Some, indeed,* have been inclined to assume that the verb was occasionally suffered to retain its accent when it was sought to give especial force to the expression, or else when a peculiar emphasis, or distinctive stress of voice, was by the sense required to be laid upon the verb itself. But although it seems highly plausible that such causes should sometimes produce such an effect, there is almost no distinct evidence to be derived from the text of the Atharvan that they do produce it. It might not be quite impossible to force such a explanation upon some of the cases which we have looked upon above as problematical, while yet it would be hard to find in them any reason for accenting the verb which would not equally apply to a great many passages in the text which are actually left to be accented according to the general rules. And it is reasonable to require that such a principle be established upon the evidence of a sufficient number of unambiguous passages, before we make use of it to explain doubtful and difficult cases.

But there are a few passages in the Atharvan, for whose explanation we are tempted to suppose the existence and efficiency in the language of this principle of energetic or emphatic accentuation. Thus we have, in the first place, four verses, in which the asseverative particles अह, *aha,* इत्, *it,* and किल, *kila,* appear to accent the verbs in connection with which they are taken. They are the following:

ममेदह क्रतावसो मम चित्तमुपायसि

mámé 'd áha krátâv áso máma cittám upâ'yasi (i. e. *upa-â'-ayasi*) (i. 34. 2);

अहं वदामि नेत्त्वं सभायामह त्वं वद

ahám vadâmi nét tvám sabhâ'yâm áha tvám váda (vii. 38. 4);

* So Benfey, Vollst. Sanskr. Gr., § 129.

ममेदसत्वं केवलो नान्यासां कीर्तयाश्चन

mámé 'd ásas tvám kévalo nâ' 'nyâ'sâm kîrtáyâç caná (vii. 38. 4);

मामित्किल त्वं वनाः शाखां मधुमतीमिव

mâ'm ít kíla tvám vánâḥ çâ'khâm mádhumatîm iva (i. 34. 4). With regard to अह, *aha*, it is to be remarked, that it nowhere else in the Atharvan occurs in such connection as to show whether it possesses a general power to accent the verb. But, of six passages in which it is found in the first Ashṭaka of the Rik, there is but one in which it exercises such a power. As for the first line given, there is room for suspecting an antithesis (certainly not less than in xix. 31. 6, cited above); or the partial analogies of iii, 25. 5. vi. 42. 3 may have had some influence upon its accentuation. In the second instance, a very slight change of place of the last accent-sign would rob the verb of its accent.* The particle इत्, *it*, is of very frequent occurrence in the text, but nowhere else influences the accent of a verb, unless when in composition with च, *ca*, and न, *na*, as before explained. And for the third passage also, the analogy of the parallel passage vii. 37. 1 may not have been without effect. The particle किल, *kila*, occurs in two other places in the Atharvan, viz. in iv. 7. 3. xviii. 1. 15, as also in Rik i. 32. 4, without rendering the verb orthotone: I am not able at present to refer to any other passages illustrating its use.

In these four instances, the accent of the verbs certainly is not of the nature of what we call emphasis; there exists no reason why a distinguishing stress of voice should be laid upon them; in each case, some other word than the verb is the emphatic one. If the verbs are indeed accented in them in virtue of the influence of the asseverative particles, it must be as the utterance of the whole clause takes place with so much additional force, that the verb also shares in it, to the extent of having its lost accent restored to it. And yet it would seem as if this effect of increased energy of enunciation would better express itself by laying a stronger stress upon the already accented syllables, than

* And this change has actually been made in the published text.

by giving it to others which were not properly entitled to it.

There are, however, two or three passages, in which signs of a real emphasis are perhaps discoverable. Thus, in ii. 7. 4,

अरातिर्नो मा तारीन्मा नस्तारिषुरभिमातयः

árâtir no mâ' târîn mâ' nas târishúr abhímâtayaḥ,

the second verb may be accented because the difference of its form from that of the first struck the sense, and seemed to call for a special notice. Yet this is quite doubtful, since we have seen hitherto that, in the case of two correlative and contrasted sentences, the tendency of the language was to accent the verb of the first, and not of the second.

We have, again, in iv. 18. 6, and repeated in v. 31. 11,

यश्चकार न शशाक कर्तुम्

yáç cakâ'ra ná çaçâ'ka kártum,

"He who hath done, hath not been able to do;" i. e., "He who hath attempted, hath not been able to accomplish." Here we may plausibly suppose the accent laid upon the second verb to be an emphatic one.

Once more, in xii. 3. 26, we read

शुद्धाः सतीस्ता उ शुम्भन्त एव

çuddhâ'ḥ satî's tâ' u çúmbhanta evá.

In this passage, as in the last but one, the verb is perhaps marked with its independent accent in order to indicate more strongly its distinction from the preceding participle.

Whether the evidence of these few passages, themselves in part doubtful, and capable of a different explanation, will be considered of so much weight that we may found upon it the assertion, that the Sanskrit tends to accent the verb in a sentence which is meant to be expressed with peculiar energy, or where the sense lays a peculiar force upon it, is very questionable. The existence of such a tendency must remain doubtful until new support shall be found for it from the other accented texts. It is not unlikely that these will furnish parallel passages which shall explain many of those which have occasioned us difficulty, by showing them to be referable to new principles, or to new modes of action

of the principles already laid down, which, by the aid of the material furnished by the Atharvan alone, we have not discovered.

We have thus passed in review all the cases occurring in the first nineteen books of the Atharvan, in which the accent of the verb was determined by other than the most general rules, and which accordingly either threw light upon the theory of verbal accentuation, or required especial treatment, as being of an exceptional and anomalous character. I have not included with them the instances derivable from the twentieth and concluding book, because the more proper occasion for presenting these would seem to be a discussion of the accentual rules as illustrated by the Rig-Veda; since the book in question forms really no part of the Atharvan, and is only a collection of extracts from the Rik.* For the sake of completeness, however, I append here a brief statement of the passages in it which are of like character with those already given for the other books.

Instances of a verb accented because standing at the head of its own clause, the division of the sentence taking place within the limits of a *pâda*, are xx. 3. 1; 8. 1a, b; 11. 10; 16. 11d; 27, 2; 35. 2; 46. 3; 54. 1; 65. 1; 67. 5; 91. 12; 92. 8, 16; 95. 3; 117. 1; 137. 8.

In xx. 16. 11c, we have a case of accentuation of the verb regarded as directly construed with the following, instead of with the preceding object.

In xx. 20. 6, the particle च, *ca*, indicates the conditionality of the clause, whose verb accordingly remains orthotone. In 113. 1, we either have another similar case, or the word उभयं, *ubhayam*, with which the verse begins, is a general introduction to it, and not specially connected with the following verb, which is then left accented in virtue of its initial position: as, "Both these two things—let Indra hear our voice .... and let him come hither," etc.

The particle कुवित्, *kuvit*, accents the verb in xx. 24. 2, 4, the only instances of its occurrence.

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* From this statement should be excepted, of course, the few peculiar passages found in connection with those extracts: yet they also were not to be made use of in an investigation like the present; their accentuation in the manuscripts is too corrupt to be of any authority; the editors have had to accent them anew in accordance with rules and analogies elsewhere established.

In xx. 70. 6 is a case of an antithesis with वा—वा, *vâ–vâ*, which, as in xviii. 1. 16, cited above (p. 401), is incomplete, the second verb being left to be supplied.

The passage xx. 55. 1 appears to be another instance of an incompletely stated antithesis, only the former of the two particles च, *ca*, being expressed. It may be compared with i. 17. 2c, d, and v. 12. 1 (cited on pages 412 and 413).

A distinct antithesis is exhibited in xx. 56. 3d; "Whom, on the one hand, wilt thou slay? whom, on the other, set in the midst of wealth?" and the usual effect of such a construction is seen in the accenting of the former verb.

In xx. 16. 11d, the former of the two verbs is accented by the action of the same principle. In xx. 8. 1c; 89. 5, we have two cases closely akin with v. 18. 4 (see above, p. 407), the correctness of the accentuation in which passage may be looked upon as clearly established by their analogy.

In xx. 67. 7d, we have a case of the irregular accenting of a verb after a vocative, in a like situation as in i. 20. 1 (cited above, p. 410).

In the passage xx. 5. 5,

एकीमस्य द्रवा पिब

é 'hî "'m asyá drávâ píba.

"Come hither now, of this [Soma], run, drink," the introduction of द्रव, *drava*, in parenthesis, between पिब, *piba*, and its object, has so broken the continuity of the sentence that the latter verb can no longer be made enclitic, but is suffered to retain an independent accent.

It thus appears that in that portion of the Rik text (about a thirteenth part of the whole) of which the concluding book of the Atharvan is composed, there are no phenomena of verbal accentuation inconsistent with the rules which have been given above, nor any that require other principles for their explanation. Whether, in the whole body of the Rik, phenomena of a different character may be found, must remain to be decided by examination. Considering the greater amount of material which the older Veda presents, as well as the superior accuracy of its text as fixed by tradition, its speedy examination with a view to this subject is greatly to be desired, in order to the full elucidation of the latter.

MISCELLANIES.

I. Extracts from Correspondence.

1. *From a Letter from Rev. A. H. Wright, M. D., of Orûmiah.*

Oroomiah, Persia, Aug. 21st, 1855.

In a recent letter to Mr. Perkins, you intimated that some intelligence relative to the state of education in Persia would be interesting to you. A friend residing in Tabreez has furnished me with information on the subject, relative to that place, which may be taken as a standard for most of the large towns in the country.

The population of Tabreez is about one hundred thousand, of whom my friend supposes that two-thirds are able to read and write the Persian language. He gives the number of schools of all kinds in the place as one hundred, that is, one school to every thousand of the population. Of this number ten are seminaries of a high order, containing from eighty to a hundred pupils each. These are public institutions, free to all who wish to attend. The instruction is given by learned men as a charitable act, or by those who have received an allowance from some wealthy persons for this object.

There are fifty schools attached to the Mosques, the pupils of each numbering from thirty to fifty. The teachers in these schools are supported by an assessment of from ten to twenty-five cents a month on each scholar, the amount varying according to the studies.

The remaining forty schools are of a private character, consisting each of from ten to fifteen pupils. They are connected with private families of rank and wealth, who employ a teacher for their own children. Often a few children of their relatives, dependents, or neighbors are allowed to attend the school.

The course of study throughout all the schools of the country is essentially the same. In all the primary schools it is as follows, viz. 1. The reading of the Korân in Arabic, without any attempt to understand its meaning. 2. The Gulistân of Saadi in Persian in the same manner; subsequently it is read again, and translated into Turkish. 3. The writings of Hâfiz. 4. Certain works in Persian on the mode of performing the prescribed prayers, and of purifying the body. 5. Certain historical works in Persian celebrated for elegance of style. 6. The elements of Grammar in Arabic. 7. Syntax, Etymology, and Prosody, also in Arabic.

In the schools of a higher grade, the studies are Logic, Law, civil and religious, Interpretation, Tradition, Medicine, Mathematics, Astronomy and Geometry.

The knowledge of Chemistry is confined to those who pretend to transmute the baser metals into gold. It is universally believed in the country that this is practicable, and also that there are some persons who possess the secret. They are said to be wandering Dervishes, going about in the garb of extreme poverty, for fear of the civil authorities, who might force them to reveal their secret, if they were known to possess it. There are many in all parts of the country, who spend their lives and waste their means, in the vain pursuit of a universal solvent.

Astronomy as a science is cultivated by a few persons. The old Ptolemaic theory, making the earth the centre, around which the heavenly bodies revolve, is still universally maintained. Eclipses are calculated, and almanacs constructed. Until recently the almanacs were all manuscripts, and but a few copies were prepared, which were purchased only by the rich and noble. For some years they have been printed at Tabreez, and scattered over the country at a very cheap rate. Astrology forms a leading department in the almanac. Events for the year are foretold, peace or war, plenty or famine, &c. Favorable hours are also indicated for starting on a journey, laying the foundations of a house, for the tailor to cut out a garment, &c.

The Persians are excessively fond of poetry, and venerate those who have a reputation for poetic talent. The Shah has his favorite poet, who is called the *Shems-i-Shuâr*, the Sun of Poets. His attempts are mostly confined to the composition of short pieces, which are recited in public on festival occasions, and consist of praises of God, praises of Mohammed, and fulsome flattery of the Shah. At the present time there are no poets of great distinction in the country; Saadi, Hâfiz, and Firdusi remain unrivalled.

You have heard of the Government College at Tehran called the *Dâr-el-f'noon*, the Door of the Sciences. It is not intended for the benefit of the community at large. It is wholly a government institution, the object of which is to raise up government servants. The pupils, now numbering a hundred, all receive a stipend from the public treasury, and as soon as they are qualified they are taken into active service. The yearly expenses of the College are about forty thousand dollars. Seven professors are employed in it, four of whom are Austrian subjects, one a Frenchman, one a Neapolitan, and one a Persian. Their departments are as follows. 1. Infantry tactics. 2. Cavalry tactics. 3. Artillery tactics. (The three professors in charge of these departments also drill the Persian troops, many of whom are always assembled at the Capital.) 4. Engineering, including Mathematics, Geometry, etc. 5. The Theory and Practice of Medicine and Surgery. 6. Materia Medica. (The teacher in this department has charge of the government apothecary

establishment.) 7. The French language. This language is studied by the Shah himself, who receives lessons from his private physician, who is a Frenchman. Many young officers of the government have acquired a respectable knowledge of that tongue. One of them has nearly completed the translation of Telemaque into Persian.

2. *From a Letter of Rev. W. M. Thomson to Dr. DeForest.*

Sidon, Nov. 30, 1855.

Sidon is now all in a state of excitement about Phenician antiquities, being dug up at Magharet Tubloon. That whole neighborhood is being cut up with trenches, in search of these antiquities. The Alellas [?] and French consul are the chief diggers. They are finding beautiful marble sarcophagi, with exquisite figures carved on the lids, like that with the inscription on it, but none of those recently found have any writing on them. They are, however, very curious, and what is still more curious is the immense depth of these rooms. I examined a room yesterday afternoon from which two of these beautiful sarcophagi have been taken. A square shaft was sunk through the rock at least twenty feet deep; from it, low doors lead into rooms, where the coffins were placed in niches below the floor, which was of strong *hajarîch* [cement]. No one would suspect that anything lay buried beneath this *hajarîch*, and the effort to conceal the tombs was successful up to this day: these sarcophagi had never been disturbed. I was present at the opening of one. Two *sanburîehs* [baskets] of rotten bones were gathered out of it. There were small bits of gold among them, but nothing of value. There seems to be no end to these rooms; chambers lie over chambers, and no one yet knows to what depth they may be found. You would be astonished to see the excitement which these things create in our usually quiet community.

3. *From a Letter from Prof. C. Lassen, of Bonn.*

Bonn, 12th Jan., 1856.

You will be glad to learn that the printing of the first Part of the third volume of my Indische Alterthumskunde, which has been so long deferred, is about to begin, so that I hope that it will come forth in the course of this summer.

4. *From a Letter from Rev. D. T. Stoddard, of Orûmiah.*

Seir, Oroomiah, July 8th, 1856.

I should be exceedingly thankful for a review of my Grammar [of the Modern Syriac Language; see above, pp. 1–180] by a competent person, which should point out its defects, which I am myself sensible are not few. They are perhaps, however, not more numerous than might be expected from one who had had no previous experience in this kind of composition, and whose time and thoughts are mainly engrossed with other pursuits. I regret much that the book was not divided into paragraphs and sections, so as to admit of frequent and easy reference from one part to another. An arrangement of this kind would have rendered many passages plain, which are now more or less obscure, and would have greatly facilitated the student's progress.

The educated Jew, who was with us for a time, has now left the Seminary, and I rarely come in contact with him, so that I have not finished preparing the sketch of the modern Jews' language of Persia which I undertook some time ago. It will be my aim to forward it to you in the course of the next winter. If possible, I shall get the Jew above mentioned to write out all the forms in the Hebrew character, and shall then myself, while listening to his pronunciation of each word, write it down in the Syriac character. If either the Hebrew or the Syriac character should be used alone, I fear that, with many readers, this would go far toward determining the unsettled and really difficult question, whether the language is to be referred to the Chaldee or to the ancient Syriac. It is very likely, however, that a thorough investigation will show that it is not strictly a descendant of either of those languages, but rather derived from the Aramæan, from which they themselves sprang.

5. *From a Letter from W. W. Turner, Esq.*

Washington, D. C., Aug. 28, 1856.

The Smithsonian Institution has at length received the volume and the fac-similes [of the Phenician inscription of Sidon] presented to it by the Duc de Luynes, in compliance with our joint request. The fac-similes are of stout white paper, produced, I suppose, by dampening the paper, laying it on the marble, and rubbing it with a hard point into all the depressions, so that the outline and depth

of every letter, and of every flaw in the stone, are represented with the greatest exactness. These fac-similes comprise both the complete inscription on the top of the sarcophagus, and the imperfect one which runs round its head. The former measures two feet nine inches from top to bottom, and the sixth line is two feet nine and a half inches in length. The partial inscription is four feet seven inches long: the letters are rather smaller, slenderer, and neater than those of the full inscription.

These fac-similes, exhibiting as they do the very "form and pressure" of the letters traced and engraved by Phenician hands, are intensely interesting.

II. Ideas respecting an Alphabet suited to the Languages of Southern Africa. By Prof. C. A. Holmboe, of Christiania, Norway.

[This essay, with the letter accompanying it, was not received in New Haven until Dec. 1855, having been detained upon the way; which is the cause of its appearing so long after being composed.]

Christiania, Feb. 15th, 1854.

Six months ago, I received from a committee of American missionaries in the neighborhood of Port Natal, in Southern Africa, an invitation to act as member of a committee composed of Professors Salisbury and Gibbs of Yale College, of Professor Pott at Halle, and of one English and one French gentleman, who were not yet designated, to invent and establish an alphabet suitable to all the languages of Southern Africa. The distance of the members from one another makes oral discussion impracticable: the only possible method of contributing anything to the important object will be, then, to communicate mutually our ideas in writing. Accordingly I take the liberty of sending you annexed my ideas respecting a South-African alphabet, begging you to receive them favorably, and to make such use of them as shall seem good to you.

It appears that those who have written on this subject, are agreed with respect to the following points:

1st. That the alphabet of the civilized nations of Europe ought to be employed for all the sounds which occur in the South-African languages.

2nd. That certain slight additions to the ordinary letters should be employed to express the sounds which approach those of these letters, but are not identical with them.

3rd. That simple signs are to be made use of to express simple sounds, and that accordingly the complex signs which have been wont to be used for this purpose should be avoided.

The points which still remain undecided are:

1st. The form of the additions to be made to the letters which express sounds resembling those of the African languages.

2nd. The form and number of the letters which shall be used to express African sounds unknown to the ordinary alphabet.

In order to make known my opinion with regard to these two points, I will pass in review the attempts of the writers who are known to me, omitting the letters about which opinions are already agreed.

[Here follows, in the original, a table giving the different characters proposed by Rev. Messrs. Schreuder, Krapf, and Grout, and by Prof. Gibbs, to represent certain sounds in the African languages, and likewise those which the author himself would prefer to see employed. The type necessary for expressing the latter not having been provided, it is not possible to give the table here. The signs approved by the author are for the most part those proposed by Rev. Mr. Grout (see this Journal, vol. iii. p. 465, etc.), the following only being exceptions: for the aspirated lingual mutes he would use the Anglo-Saxon characters recommended by Prof. Gibbs (see as above, p. 471); for the click c he proposes a character which nearly resembles z of the common German current hand; for the click q, the same sign with a prefixed straight mark, constituting a part of it; for the click x the same sign, as last modified, with the addition of a horizontal mark across the tail of the letter; for ŋ, (as above, p. 465, No. 16) he proposes ñ; for the sound of ch in church, c; for ǰ (as above, No. 17), g with a horizontal mark across the tail of the letter; for ƙ or ķ (No. 20), k with a line drawn at right angles across its lower slanting limb; for k (No. 19), the same letter with a horizontal line across its upper portion; for ɭ (No. 22), l with a wave-line (~) across it; for ł (No. 23), l with two such lines across it; for ɾ (No. 33), r with a horizontal line drawn through it; for s, etc. (as above, p. 466, No. 35), a long s (ſ) with a wave-line across it.]

It is to be hoped that the South-Africans will some day rise high enough in the scale of civilization to be able to write their languages: and therefore, in constructing an alphabet for them, we must not lose sight of the fact that it is intended as well for writing as for printing: the letters ought, then, to have such forms that they may flow easily from the pen, and connect without difficulty with one another. But this is a quality which is wanting in the signs for the

clicks proposed by Rev. Mr. Schreuder [see as above, p. 436], and by Prof. Gibbs [do., p. 472], and in the Arabic letters suggested by the latter [do., p. 470].

Against the method of indicating the differences of the letters by means of marks or dots detached from them, and placed above or below them, I have the objection to make, that this easily gives rise to difficulties. It is known that in our ordinary writing the dot over the letter *i* is often omitted; this is, it is true, but a very slight inconvenience, because *i* is in our alphabet the only letter provided with a dot. But if we take notice of the Arabic mode of writing, in which numerous diacritical points are employed, we see that the omission or the placing wrongly of these points often causes great embarrassment. We see that conscientious writers, in order to prevent misunderstandings, after a proper name, ordinarily describe at great length the mode in which it is to be written. We should expose the Africans to like difficulties, if we should encumber their alphabet with too many points and marks. I regard as preferable lined letters (*des lettres barrées*), even crossed by two lines, if necessary. Such letters are already in use in many alphabets, as the Lettish, the Lapp, and the Norwegian. [The instances cited are necessarily omitted.]

As to the clicks, Messrs. Grout and Gibbs propose four varieties of form for each of them. I do not doubt the existence of that number of perceptible varieties of sound, but I doubt the necessity of making use of so many signs in order to express them all. It is the case in every language that a letter exhibits certain differences of pronunciation, caused by its contact with other letters, but it may nevertheless always be written with the same sign, without leading to confusion. If the varieties of the clicks have this origin, it is superfluous to multiply signs for them. If, on the other hand, there are in these languages words, or forms of words, which would be confounded, if the signs of the clicks were not varied, I acknowledge that it would be necessary to vary them.

III. The Ionians before the Ionian Migration.

(Read before the Society, Oct. 9, 1856.)

Die Ionier vor der Ionischen Wanderung, von Ernst Curtius. Berlin, 1855. 8vo. pp. 56.

The name of Ernst Curtius is well known to American scholars from his excellent volumes on the geography of Peloponnesus, as well as several smaller works. His essay, published last year under the title above given, presents novel and interesting views in regard to the earliest times of Greece. I propose in this article to give a brief statement of those views, with some criticism of the arguments by which they are supported. It will appear as I proceed that the subject, though belonging to Greek history, is one which has its claims upon the attention of an Oriental Society.

At the outset of authentic Greek history, we find the western coast of Asia Minor, with the neighboring islands, occupied by Greeks, undoubted members of the Hellenic body. Of these the largest portion, extending on the mainland from the mouth of the Hermus to that of the Maeander, and holding the important islands of Chios and Samos, called themselves Ionians—a name which belonged to them in common with the inhabitants of Attica and Euboea on the west of the Aegean, as well as the island group of the Cyclades in the centre of that sea. The Asiatic Ionians, after passing through a long career of independence and prosperity, were incorporated about 550 B. C. into the kingdom of the Lydian Croesus, along with which they came only a few years later into the more comprehensive and permanent empire of the Persian Cyrus. This was the close of their independent existence. For its commencement we must go back to the mythic period—at least to a period lying on the debatable ground between history and mythus. In the traditions of the Greeks as to their own early times, we find the origin of the Asiatic Ionians traced up to an ancient colonization from the west, by emigrants who came from European Greece. This emigration is represented as one consequence, among many, of the great event, which stands on the threshhold of Greek history, itself obscurely seen, but sufficiently recognized as the cause or occasion of almost all we see in early Greece—the invasion and conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians. The story is briefly this: I condense from Grote. "A multitude of refugees from various parts of Greece, fleeing before the Dorian invaders, sought shelter in Attica. Alarmed by the growing population of that territory, the Dorians of Peloponnesus marched against it with a powerful army; but finding that victory had been assured to the Athenians by the generous self-

devotion of their king Codrus, they gave up the enterprise and returned home. The Athenians on the death of Codrus abolished the kingship; but his descendants for several generations held the supreme power as archons for life. His two sons, Medon and Neileus, having quarreled about the succession, the Delphian oracle decided in favor of the former; whereupon the latter, affronted at the preference, resolved to seek a new home. There were at this moment many dispossessed sections of Greeks, and an adventitious population accumulated in Athens, who were anxious for settlements beyond sea. The expeditions which now set forth to cross the Aegean, chiefly under the conduct of members of the Codrid family, composed collectively the memorable Ionic Emigration, of which the Ionians, recently expelled from Peloponnesus, formed only a part; for we hear of many quite distinct races, some renowned in legend, who withdrew from Greece amidst this assemblage of colonists. The Kadmeians, the Minyae of Orchomenus, the Abantes of Euboea, the Dryopes; the Molossi, the Phokians, the Boeotians, the Arcadian Pelasgians, and even the Dorians of Epidaurus—are represented as furnishing each a proportion of the crews of those emigrant vessels. At the same time other mythic families beside the Codrids, the lineage of Neleus and Nestor, took part in the expedition. Herodotus mentions Lykian chiefs, descendants of Glaukus, and Pausanias tells us of Philotas a descendant of Peneleos, who went at the head of a body of Thebans. Prokles, the chief who conducted the Ionic emigrants from Epidaurus to Samos, was said to be of the lineage of Ion son of Xuthus. The results were not unworthy of this great gathering of chiefs and races. The Cyclades were colonized, as also the large islands of Samos and Chios near the Asiatic shore, while ten different cities on the coast of Asia Minor, from Miletus on the south to Phokaea on the north, were founded, and all adopted the Ionic name. Athens was the metropolis or mother city of all of them: Androklus and Neileus, the Oekists of Ephesus and Miletus, and probably other Oekists also, started from the Prytaneium at Athens with those solemnities religious and political, which usually marked the departure of a swarm of Grecian colonists." Such is the traditional account. The main fact contained in it, may be regarded as certain —that after the Dorian conquest of southern Greece and in consequence of that event, large bodies of Greeks, the most important part of them Ionians, set forth, chiefly from the coast of Attica, to cross the Aegean sea. The time of this migration may be set down by a loose approximation at 1000 years before our Era.

Now the principal thesis of Curtius in his Essay, is this; that in the migration just described, the Ionians of Greece were going home, to their own country and kindred. It was the returning emigration to a land, from which, ages before, their fathers had passed over into

Greece—and not only that, but a land which had never ceased to be occupied by the same race, by a people of Ionian name and lineage. They found on arriving in Asia, not only Dardanians, Carians, Lycians and other tribes, which Curtius regards as differing not very widely from Ionians in language and culture: but they found there Ionians, identified with themselves by virtue of the common name, origin and traditions. They found in fact *the* Ionians—the *principal* branch as well as the *elder* of their race—who in these Asiatic seats had risen to a height of achievement and reputation, not yet equalled by any Greeks of Europe. Let us, however, trace the theory more in detail, going back to its remote starting point in the past, beyond the reach of history, beyond the reach even of mythus, where only ethnographic science can furnish any glimmering of light.

The primitive Arian colonization, flowing westward from Armenia into Asia Minor, filled the elevated plateaux of that peninsula with Phrygian races. Here the Greeks, long identified with the Phrygian stock, first begin to be distinguished as Greeks, with a stamp and nationality of their own. Here they develope what must be considered as the common type of Hellenism in language and character. But almost from the beginning they divide themselves into two great sections. The one is that afterwards known in history as the Ionian. The other includes the remaining fractions of the Greek nation: we might call it Hellenic in a narrower sense, as being first to assume the Hellenic name: it is sometimes called Aeolo-Dorian from the designations of its leading members in the historic period. After a time these sections part company. The latter or Hellenic section break up from Asia, cross the Hellespont and Propontis, and find new seats in the mountains of Thrace and Macedonia. Here they remain in isolated Alpine valleys, forming their separate local constitutions, until, dislodged by new movements of population, and pressed southward, they make their appearance in different masses, as Aeolians, Dorians, Achaeans, in Northern Greece. Here again in the course of time new causes arise, which carry portions at least of these tribes still further in the same direction, into Central and Southern Greece. Hence the occupation of Peloponnesus by the Achaeans, whom the Homeric poems represent to us as seated in that territory and exercising full ascendancy. And hence too the later and far more important conquest of the same territory by the Dorians and their auxilaries.

The Ionians meanwhile remain in Asia Minor, but no longer in the highlands of the interior. Descending gradually along the great river valleys, they at length reach the Aegean sea, and then spreading themselves northward and southward, occupy the whole western coast—possessing thus a territory distinguished alike for the richness of its soil, and the genial beauty of its climate. They are closely

connected here by proximity and by intercourse with other tribes, such as the Dardanians, Lycians, Carians, Leleges, from whom in fact they are not separated by any broad lines of ethnical distinction. Under these circumstances they enter upon a career of activity and culture, which appears to have received its impulse from the Phoenicians and to have been shared in, more or less, by the other tribes just mentioned. Visited at first by the Phoenicians for the purposes of trade, they soon learned from them the art of navigation, and set up business on their own account, as the rivals of their late masters. Associated with the Phoenicians in many parts of the Aegean, and supplanting them in others, they have become inextricably confused with them in the traditions of the Greeks. The Ionian myth which represents Byblus, one of the oldest Phoenician cities, as the daughter of Miletus, shows perhaps that the Ionians gained a foothold even on the coast of Syria; at any rate it is a proof of close connection between these two maritime peoples. There is clearer evidence to show that the Ionians visited the coast of Egypt, and even established settlements, more or less permanent, in the marshy Delta of the Nile. This was regarded by the Egyptians themselves almost as foreign territory; since we find that Psammetichus—the same prince, who, perhaps a thousand years later, opened the whole country to the Greeks—when banished from Egypt, took refuge in the Delta. And the men of brass, who were announced to Psammetichus, while there, as having just made their appearance, and who proved to be a party of Ionian rovers recently landed, were but a specimen of their own countrymen, who, a thousand years earlier, made repeated descents upon the same coast for the mingled purposes of traffic and plunder. But the attention of the Ionians was naturally directed more to the west. Crossing the Aegean Sea, they occupy first the Cyclades, and then Euboea and Attica. They establish their settlements on the Pagasaean Gulf, and on both sides of the Euripus. Traces of them are found along the whole eastern coast of Peloponnesus, in Corinth, Epidaurus, Troezen, Argos, and even in the island of Cythera. Passing over the Isthmus, they appear in the Corinthian Gulf, where we find them in southern Phocis, and much more in northern Peloponnesus, in the district afterward called Achaia. From thence they spread southward over Elis and Messene in western Peloponnesus: and having thus reached the Ionian Sea, they occupy the Ithacan islands, and extend themselves northward to the island of Corcyra, and the coasts of Epirus and Illyria. More than this: in the mythic wanderings of Aeneas, Curtius would recognize a traditionary representation of Ionian settlement, which must then have stretched along the western coast of Italy from Eryx to the mouth of the Tiber. Even in Sardinia, he considers the name of a people called the Iolaeans, and of their founder Iolaos, as giving evidence of early Ionian colonization.

Throughout the course of these migrations the Ionians carry with them the culture of the vine and the worship of the wine-god Dionysus. Every where we find them settling along the coasts, and showing an especial preference for the rich, though marshy, alluvium at the mouth of rivers. Occasionally, however, they follow up a river-valley quite into the interior of a district, as in Boeotia, where the Asopus leads them to the inland city of Thebes. Everywhere wandering in ships, they wander without women; and hence their colonization appears as the establishment of a few foreign settlers among a native population, whom they do not attempt to dispossess, but exercise over them the natural ascendancy of superior ability and civilization. Thus in Attica there is no change of population: the primitive people, whom Greek tradition names Pelasgi, remain in their old seats, unchanged except as they are civilized, Ionized by the foreigners from Asia. The Egyptian Cecrops, the mythic author of civilization in Attica, is no proper Egyptian, but an Ionian, who had become domiciled in Egypt. A similar view is taken of Danaus the Egyptian founder of Argos. These traditions of early connections between Egypt and Greece are, in the view of Curtius, too deeply rooted and too widely ramified, to have sprung up, as K. O. Müller assumed, after the comparatively recent period when the Egyptians under Psammetichus came into closer relations with the Greeks. Yet on the other hand, it seems equally evident, that no influence strictly and properly Egyptian, could have had a leading part in moulding the civilization, substantially homogeneous and independent, of early Greece. The difficulty finds its solution in the view, that these Egyptian settlers, who figure in tradition, were Ionians, who had found a residence in Egypt and came from thence to Greece. The Phoenician Cadmus and his colonization of Thebes are treated in the same way. Curtius does not deny indeed, that there were in Greece, to a greater or less extent, ancient settlements of native Phoenicians; but he maintains confidently that no such alien Semitic settlers could have gained historic importance as founders of royal or sacerdotal families. It is of course still easier to connect the Phrygian Pelops, and his immigration into the peninsula which took his name, with the colonial extension of the Ionian race. The Argonautic expedition is a story of Ionian adventure. Its leader, who comes into Thessaly an unknown wanderer, bears a name, Jason *Ἰάσων*, which stamps him as Ionian: and its Thessalian starting-point, Iolcos or Iaolcos, is with great probability explained as meaning 'the naval station of the Ionians.'

Here on the coast of Thessaly the Ionians are again brought into contact with their brethren of Aeolo-Dorian descent. After a local separation of generations and centuries, these long-sundered sections of the Grecian people are brought once more into local connection.

The most conspicuous result is the formation of the celebrated Amphictyonic League, the oldest and largest and most influential of the Grecian Amphictyonies. It is a religious association of Thessalian tribes (neighbors to one another, Ἀμφικτίονες) for the common worship of the god Apollo. The Ionians, after being for a long time worshippers preëminently of the god Poseidon, of whom the western Greeks at that time knew as little as of the element he ruled, had in their eastern home received the Apollo-worship—a new religion, as Curtius calls it, which every where exercised a transforming and inspiring influence on its converts. Zealously devoted to its propagation, they introduced it among their brethren of Thessaly. Thus in the Amphictyonic deity we find a proof of Ionian influence; which appears further in the frequently-recurring Ionian number *twelve*, as that of the confederate tribes. The Amphictyonic League, though primarily a religious organization, expressed political aspirations, and worked toward political results. It produced a feeling of closer union and of common brotherhood among its members, which led to the adoption of the Hellenic name as a common designation for the united Amphictyonic people. Hellen in the myths is either father or brother of Amphictyon. Hence the tribes of Macedonia and Epirus, however closely resembling the Hellenes, never received the Hellenic name, which belongs only to the Amphictyonic tribes, and the districts which come under their control or influence.

Although Ionian influence, as we have seen, was predominant in the origin of the Delphic Amphictyony, that first reunion and organization of the Greek races, yet the relative weight of parties did not always remain the same. A reaction at length commenced—a reaction of the older tribes in the interior against the newer occupants of the sea board—of the western Greeks against their emigrant brethren from the east. The ruder tribes of Thessaly, receiving the imported civilization of the Ionians, come at length to feel themselves the equals of their late instructors, and can no longer brook the ascendancy to which they at first submitted. Hence a decided revolution in the political state of Greece, proceeding from Thessaly, and having for its ultimate result the almost complete expulsion of the Ionians from European Greece. But this revolution is the work of ages, and has its different epochs, according to the different races, who successively appear to carry it forward.

First, the Aeolians, who are represented in the traditions as arising from a mixture of the inland tribes with the maritime population of the sea board. Though in fact supplanting the Ionians, they do not appear as their opponents or even as their rivals. The Aeolids are themselves bearers of Ionian cultivation and the worship of Poseidon; their royal seats, as Iolcos and Corinth, are stations of Ionian

colonization; their mythic heroes, as Jason and Sisyphus, are representatives of Asiatic culture.

Second, the Achaeans are likewise in many ways closely connected with the Ionians, as the mythus intimates, when it makes both Ion and Achaeus sons of Apollo. Yet the military exaltation of the Achaeans is the first great blow to Ionian preponderance in Greece. While the Achaeans of Phthiotis press on toward the sea coast of Thessaly, the other branch of that people conquer the Peloponnesus, form new states there hostile to the Ionians, whom they expel from Troezen and other parts of Argolis, and with fleets of their own begin those struggles with the tribes of Asia Minor, which are commemorated in the legends of the Trojan war—a war in which the Ionian peoples, as the Athenians, take scarcely any part, while heroes akin to the Ionians, as Palamedes and Odysseus, enter into it with reluctance.

Third, the Dorians, a people much more alien to the Ionians and much more independent of their influence, a people who adhere with tenacity to their original peculiarities of life and character; in them was first seen the full native vigor of the mountain tribes. Breaking up from their seats in Mt. Oeta, they cross the Corinthian Gulf, by a gradual conquest overthrow the Achaean power, and make themselves masters of nearly all Peloponnesus. As they advance, the Ionians everywhere lose ground; on all sides they are driven back to their ships: and now begins a great retreat of the Ionians from their settlements in the west; a great return to their mother country on the east of the Aegean Sea. Only in Attica do they at last succeed in making an effectual stand: thus maintaining a foothold in European Greece, and preventing Hellenic history from being again divided, as it had been, ages before, between two distinct races upon opposite sides of the Aegean. Even in Asia Minor they are not by themselves. Achaean and Dorian colonies reproduce there the collisions of western Greece, keeping up a restless activity of mind, by which Ionian art is stimulated to a rapid development, until it puts forth its fairest blossom in the Homeric Epos. Still in the Dorian and Aeolian districts of Asia Minor, the basis of population remained essentially Ionian: and in the Ionian revolt, as it is called, the whole people of the western coast, from Lycia to the Propontis, rose as *one* people against the barbarian conqueror.

Such is the theory of this ingenious and strikingly written essay. Before taking up any points in the argument on which it rests, we must observe that this idea of Ionians in Asia previous to the Ionian Migration, is wholly foreign to the mythic or semi-historical traditions of the Greeks themselves. It may be shown, perhaps, that in those traditions there are statements which imply the existence of a primitive Ionian people in that region; statements which cannot be

explained on any other supposition. But it is confessedly true, that the traditions conveyed no such idea to the ancient Greeks who had them; certainly not, after they had assumed the forms in which they have come down to us.

In looking at the evidence on which our author relies, to sustain a proposition of which no memory is found in the most ancient literature and tradition of Greece, it is natural to inquire first, whether any testimony can be gleaned from early Oriental sources. Here Curtius finds a confirmation of his views in the name given to the Greeks by all the ancient nations of the East. It is well known that the common form Ἴωνες is made by a contraction of the earlier Ἰάονες; and there is great reason to believe that this latter form had originally a medial Digamma and was pronounced Ἰάϝονες, sing. Ἰάϝων. Now the Greeks are called by the Indians Javanas, by the Hebrews Javan, by the Persians Juna or Jauna, in Aramaic Jaunojo, in Arabic Jaunâni, in Armenian Juin, and in Coptic Uinin. It can hardly be doubted, that these are all forms of one and the same name; and that this is no other than Ἰάϝων or Ἰάϝονες, the special name of the Ionian Greeks. We may not unreasonably suppose, that it was the Phoenicians who first applied this name as a common designation for the whole Greek people, and that the widely-extended commerce of the Phoenicians was the means of its diffusion throughout Asia. It is further probable, that the Phoenicians had the name in this use of it before the time of the Ionian Migration. We find it in the tenth chapter of the book of Genesis, in the list of Noachids, where it undoubtedly refers, not to a part of the Greeks, but to the whole people. This document, if of Mosaic origin, is at least thirteen centuries older than the Christian Era: while even among those who deny its Mosaic origin, it is allowed by all the sounder critics to be older than the division of the Hebrew Monarchy. But this occurred about 1000 B. C., perhaps at the same time with the Ionian Migration, probably not later than that event. What shall we conclude, then, from this early use of the Ionian name as a designation for the whole Hellenic people? Curtius replies—the fact is inexplicable unless we assume, that of all the Grecian tribes the Ionian was the first which became known to the Orientals; it must have existed as their neighbor and carried on intercourse with them by land and water, not simply as early or a little earlier than Aeolians and Dorians, but long before all other Greeks. It appears to me that this language overstates the case. On the coast of Syria at the present day all Europeans are Franks. Yet other nations of Europe beside the French were represented in the first crusade, and still more in the second, which, followed only a half century later. On the other hand, the Europeans have given the common name of Tartars to the nomadic tribes east of the Cas-

pian Sea. Yet it is certain, that even the first invading hordes, which entered Europe under the successors of Genghiz Khan, were not composed wholly nor principally of Tartars properly so called. Because the French give the name of Allemands to all the Germans, it surely does not follow that their ancestors for a long time were acquainted with no Germans except those included in the Alemannic confederacy. As to the case in hand, we can only say (assuming that the Phoenicians were the first who used Ionian for Greek), that either the Ionians were the first Greeks known to the Phoenicians, or they were somehow, from greater proximity, or closer intercourse, or some one of many other possible reasons, more prominently present to the view of the Phoenicians, when this use of the name originated.

A second testimony is supposed to be furnished by early Egyptian records. On the celebrated Rosetta stone and on other monuments of the Macedonian and Roman periods, the idea "Greek" is represented by a hieroglyphic group, consisting first, of three papyrus plants standing side by side, and secondly, of three baskets placed one above another. These elements, it is said, give the meaning "Lords of the North." The pronunciation of the group, as determined by a comparison of the demotic characters in the Rosetta inscription, is said to be unquestionably Uinen, which we have just seen to be the Coptic name for the Greeks. Now the same hieroglyphic group is found upon a series of monuments belonging to the early Pharaohs, and always in reference to a people described as subject to the kings of Egypt. Of these kings some—as Amenophis II, Sethos I or Sesonchis I—belong to the great heroic dynasties of Thebes, the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries: others to the twenty-second dynasty and the tenth century, as Sesonchis, the Shishak of the Old Testament, the conqueror of Jerusalem. It would seem, therefore, that several of the early Egyptian sovereigns claimed to be masters of the Uinen, Ionians or Greeks. Curtius does not suppose, what indeed would be in the highest degree improbable, that these records refer to expeditions by sea or land sent out from Egypt to the western border of Asia Minor, and there subduing or pretending to subdue the Ionian population of the country. He considers them as referring to Ionians of Egypt, settled in the Delta of the Nile, who may at various times have been attacked and perhaps reduced to submission, more or less complete, by native sovereigns of the country. It appears from the researches of Lepsius, that this name belongs to a group containing nine names of nations, which recur in the same fixed order, the supposed Uinen standing first among them, and Egypt itself, upper and lower, being included in the series. That all the others beside Egypt belong to foreign nations is inferred

from the fact, that in a Theban tomb the bearers of the two Egyptian shields are plainly distinguished from the other seven by their red complexion and peculiar hair-dress. These are the statements. If they really prove that Ionian settlements were made in Egypt as early as fourteen or fifteen centuries before Christ, they doubtless serve to confirm the theory of Curtius. It does not appear, indeed, that the monuments give any direct indication as to what part of the world these Uinen (if they are rightly read so) come from. But it is certainly more probable, that such Ionian settlements, if actually made in Egypt, should have been made from Asia Minor, than from European Greece. But we seem to have here, what may eventually turn out to be a good argument, rather than what we can now receive and rely upon as such. Even Curtius does not appear to expect that it will produce general conviction. "Every first attempt," he says, "to connect Greek and Egyptian history with one another, to supplement the beginnings of one by materials drawn from the other, must, however cautiously undertaken, encounter manifold objection, consisting either in a vague and general want of confidence, or in scientific doubts as to the correctness of the method and the certainty of the facts made use of." In the present case our suspicions are stronger from the obscurity which rests on other names of conquered nations found upon the monuments of these ancient Pharaohs; hardly two or three of them, it is said, have been identified with certainty. We must add, however, that Lepsius accepts without hesitation the views of Curtius upon this point: he has no doubt that the name in question refers to Ionian Greeks settled in Egypt, "so that as early as the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries, Ionians, that is, a part at least, a considerable colony of that people were dependent on the Egyptian sovereigns."

We turn now from Oriental testimonies to inquire how far the known facts of Grecian history support the theory in question. Curtius asserts, that in particular localities on the coast of Asia and the neighboring islands, there are traces of Ionian occupancy before the time of the Ionian Migration. It is to be regretted that he has not drawn out more at length this part of his argument. As it is, the few brief indications which he gives hardly suffice to make a definite and satisfactory impression. Miletus and Ephesus, he says, were even in name nothing but renewals of older settlements: and the same fact is expressly attested in regard to Erythrae, Chios and Samos. Admitting now the correctness of these traditionary notices, granting that the places mentioned were inhabited before the Ionian Migration, are we authorized to assume, what is not contained in the traditions, that these earlier occupants were Ionians? What more natural than to find, that among the numerous places settled by these colonists from Europe, some had been previously occupied

by the natives of the country; who may have abandoned them before the time of the Ionian colonization; or, in other instances, may have been dispossessed and driven out by the colonists themselves; or, again, may have remained where they were, submitting to the new-comers and fusing with them into one community.

Again, he urges that the worship of Apollo Didymaeus in his sanctuary near Miletus—a worship common to all the Ionians—appears in tradition as older than the planting of the Ionian colony in Miletus. In like manner, the Delian sanctuary of Apollo was the Mother-sanctuary for all the stations of Apollo-worship in Greece, and must therefore have existed earlier than the Ionian Migration, though tradition very distinctly represents the island of Delos as having at that time received its Greek population in place of the Carians, its earlier inhabitants. I would not say there is no force in the argument derived from these facts. Yet the question must be raised; granting, in accordance with the tradition, the primitive antiquity of these places as stations of Apollo worship, how far may we infer, what is not expressed in the tradition, that the primitive worshippers were Ionians? Curtius himself does not suppose that the worship of Apollo was confined to the Greeks: he will not venture to say, that it originated with them; he believes it to have been extensively diffused among the non-Hellenic tribes of western Asia. There is no strong improbability against the supposition, that the Ionians, instead of founding the establishments referred to, were only the successors of their founders. It is well known that the nations of antiquity regarded it as a point of great importance to keep up local rites of worship even in conquered places. Curtius mentions, that when the Ionians were driven out by the Achaeans from northern Peloponnesus, some of their families were retained in Helice in order to continue there the former worship of Poseidon. And, apart from this general feeling, the Ionians were little likely to neglect any old and celebrated sanctuary of Apollo, a divinity whom they honored with peculiar veneration.

For further proof of primitive Ionian occupancy, we find our author referring to the city of Iasus, situated on a small island near the coast of Caria. No tradition, he observes, was able to refer this Carian place to any settlement proceeding from the west, and yet Iasus with its entire environment was, in more than name alone, a genuine, primitive portion of Ionia. Now the Greek character of this place, and even its Ionian character, will be readily admitted. But we know not how to explain the statement, that no tradition could refer it to a settlement proceeding from the west. For Polybius (xvi. 11), in a passage which we can imagine no reason for discrediting, tells us expressly, that Iasus, according to the assertion of its people, was settled by a colony of Argives, though, having afterwards lost a

considerable portion of its citizens in a war with the Carians, it received a large reinforcement from Miletus, headed by a son of Neileus, the Ionian founder of the latter city. Iasus, then, appears in the same class with other Greek cities of Asia, which referred their origin to European Greece: there can be no reason, why it should be distinguished from the rest, as furnishing clearer evidence of a primitive Ionian population in western Asia.

Curtius argues from the immediate and great prosperity of the settlements established by the Ionian Migration, that they could not have been planted among an alien people, on coasts before occupied only by barbarians. But the Greek cities of Sicily and Southern Italy were founded centuries later in regions where the previous inhabitants were entirely and unquestionably barbarian: yet, notwithstanding this original disadvantage, such was their progress, that in the time of Xerxes, Hiero of Syracuse was the greatest power in the independent Grecian world, and perhaps a match for all others put together. And later, we find the Greeks of Sicily maintaining their ground, though with difficulty, in a long continued struggle against the Carthaginians, a power which proved almost an overmatch for Rome, when mistress of all Italy. Our author evidently feels that this parallel progress of the Italiot Greeks tells against his argument: and, to weaken its force, asserts that the progress of the Asiatic Ionians was different and more remarkable in three particulars. 1. They established a confederacy of their cities. But the want of coöperation in the other case serves rather to increase the marvel. 2. They developed a civilization more purely Hellenic. This, however, may be accounted for by the fact, which probably all would admit, that the barbarians of western Asia Minor were much more like the Greeks than the barbarians of Southern Italy and Sicily; so that the extraneous influences were more nearly Hellenic in the former case than in the latter. Nor does this general similarity of Carians, Lycians, Phrygians, &c., to the Greeks require us to suppose that they had been in previous uninterrupted communication with Greeks on the same shores, as our author assumes. He maintains, in fact, that the two sections of the Greek people preserved their essential identity notwithstanding a separation for centuries by the waters of the Aegean. 3. The Ionians of Asia made higher attainments in art and literature. True: but would the colonists of Sicily have gone higher in these respects, if on their first landing they had found the island half peopled by their countrymen? Their attainments, in fact, if inferior to those of the Ionians, may compare with the attainments of Dorians and Aeolians in Asia, though these latter, as Curtius supposes, had the advantage of settling among an old established population of their countrymen.

The strong point of this theory is the fact of its affording an explanation for the peculiar position which the Ionians appear to have had in early Greece. The argument may be stated thus. A people scattered far and wide along the sea coast, and found in the interior only where they might have come by following a river-course back from the sea—such a people are not likely to have reached their seats by an overland emigration. The Ionians in Greece, then, must have come there by sea, and in all probability from the east; immediately from the Aegean islands, remotely from Asia Minor. But it is not likely, that a whole people settled on the Asiatic coast would float over the sea in this way. Their wide diffusion in Greece makes it probable, that there were successive expeditions, with a considerable interval of time from first to last. As they were thus established in large numbers and for a long time on the coast of Asia, it is likely that a numerous people remained there, after the last expedition set sail toward Greece; enough to maintain themselves in that position, until after the lapse of centuries, they welcomed back their returning brethren from the west. I will not stop to criticise the probabilities in this argument. But I must not close without observing, that, whatever advantages the theory under consideration may give us in explaining the early times of Greece, they are not gained without drawback: we encumber ourselves with some new and serious difficulties. One of these has been already alluded to; the complete forgetfulness of Greek tradition as to the existence of these primitive Ionians of Asia. If the tradition, as our author holds, has preserved some memory of their names and actions, it has at any rate forgotten that they were Ionians. This is the more strange, as the national pride of Ionians, living and flourishing in the same seats, might naturally have clung with more tenacity to the ancient renown of their ancestors. Why should they give up their own Cecrops and Danaus and Cadmus to the Egyptians and Phoenicians? Why should they remember so much about their early neighbors, and nothing about their early selves? Why should they remember so much about Dardanians, Phrygians, Lycians, Carians in western Asia, and nothing about Ionians there? Or why should they remember so much about Ionians in Attica and Peloponnesus, and nothing about that people in their own Asia Minor? Why should a people whose forefathers, born on the same soil, had run a career of wide-reaching activity and enterprise, forget its connection with those forefathers, and attach itself instead to the distant and less distinguished ancestors of a part only of its members? Athens, according to this view, was the daughter of an Asiatic mother. So long as there were Ionians in Asia, the Athenians must have looked to them as colonists to the inhabitants of the mother country, with feelings of respectful attachment, which were peculiarly strong in

the ancient Greek mind. Why then should Athenians, returning to that mother country, forget the respect and attachment which they had before cherished? why should they forget their original connection with a country which had now become their own home? If in everything else the tradition lost its hold upon these primitive Ionians, we should expect, that it would have retained them in connection with the Ionian Migration. How could it carry these wanderers across the Aegean, without remembering the capital circumstance, that they went, not to aliens or enemies, but to their own friends, countrymen and kindred? There is a singular unanimity in this forgetfulness. Among a large number of cities, scattered along a wide extent of sea-coast, we might have expected, that some one at least would remember a fact so important in its early history. But there is no single exception to the general obliviousness. It has a greater extent, indeed, than we have yet noticed; the Cyclades share in it. If the view of Curtius be true, these islands must have received their Greek population from the East, from Asia Minor. But here again tradition is no less distinct and uniform in referring the beginnings of Greek occupancy to colonization from the west, from European Greece.

I will only notice further some particulars in the early Epic literature, which seem inconsistent with this theory. Almost all critics are agreed now in referring the Homeric poems to a date earlier than the year 800. They were composed then within two centuries from the Ionian Migration, perhaps not more than a century after that event. If we were to put the Ionian Migration at about 950, and the composition of the Iliad and Odyssey at about 850, these dates would perhaps correspond as nearly to the collective probabilities of the case, as any that could be assigned. Now the remarkable absence of allusions to Ionia, its places and people, in the Iliad and Odyssey, which does not seem to be fully accounted for by the Achaean subjects and Aeolian scenes of those poems, is naturally explained by the recent arrival of the Ionians in that country. Their beginnings in Asia were still matters of historic recollection; there was still a conscious newness about their places and their doings, which interposed a wide gulf between them and the ancient traditions of Achaeans and Dardans. But the theory of Curtius supplies an immemorial past for the Ionians in Asia, and thus renders the phenomenon in question far more difficult of explanation. Again, a people who had for centuries followed the Phoenicians in a career of maritime enterprise, competing with them and in many places supplanting them as traders, must have become familiar with the use of letters: and this, if true, would render still more unaccountable the fact, already sufficiently perplexing, that these two long poems, with their innumerable references to everything in the public and private

life of the Homeric age, contain but one disputed and doubtful allusion to the art of writing. And once more, a people who had wandered for ages almost round the Mediterranean, must have acquired a stock of geographical information, more extensive and accurate than that represented in the poems of Homer. If, for instance, the Ionians were conversant with the Delta of the Nile for several centuries, and as late as the time of Shishak, about 950, how could the author of the Odyssey place the island of Pharos, which stood close to the Egyptian coast, a full day's sail away from it? And what shall we say of the "speciosa miracula" which Horace admires, "Antiphaten, Scyllamque, et cum Cyclope Charybdin?" How could such notions prevail among a people, who had colonized western Sicily and western Italy as far up as the Tiber, and even the remoter island of Sardinia?

We are aware, that the foregoing discussion does very imperfect justice to a theory, the strength of which, in its author's own view, lies not in a few decisive arguments, but in the simple, natural connection, which it gives to many scattered facts. We wish, also, to acknowledge, in the fullest manner, the ability and learning with which it is supported. We admit that it throws light upon important points in Greek antiquity. We cannot, however, help feeling, that the case is not yet made out in its favor, and that it would be unsafe to accept it, until further discussion and the progress of knowledge shall have weakened the objections which now present themselves, and set the evidence for it in a clearer light. It is just to add, that this theory is propounded by its author with all becoming modesty. He recognizes the obscurities and perplexities which environ his subject: and declares that his object in publishing his views, is to determine from the discussion they call out, how far he can himself hold fast to them as established truth. His views may be imperfectly supported by the evidence: but they are not put forward with that offensive dogmatism, which is perhaps nowhere more common than in fields like this, where hardly anything whatever can be known with certainty. J. H.

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Two copies of a tract attributed to Lao-tse, lithographed from the manuscript of Commissioner Lin. 8vo size, pp. 6. (See above, p. 261.)

By Rev. J. Perkins, D. D., of Oroomiah.

Anonymous letter in Persian, to Rev. Dr. Perkins, on linen cloth, in green ink. (See this Journal, vol. iii. p. 211.)

By Hon. J. Pickering.

A Catalogue of Arabic, Turkish and Persian Manuscripts. The private collection of Wm. B. Hodgson. Washington: 1830. 12mo, pp. 10.

By the Smithsonian Institution.

Vocabulary of the Jargon, or Trade Language of Oregon. Washington: 1853. 8vo, pp. 24.

By Wm. C. Waters, Esq.

Specimen page of Marâthî, Guzerâtî, and Zend characters, with another page of remarks upon them. 8vo.

By Rev. A. H. Wright, of Oroomiah.

Three leaves, covered with Arabic characters, disposed in the form of stars, written by the Persian religious impostor Bâb, while imprisoned at Charee.

By Unknown Donors.

The Chinese Repository. [A monthly Journal.] Vols. I, IV, V, VI, IX. complete; Vol. III. 9–12; Vol. VII. 1–8; Vol. VIII. 7–12; Vol. X. 1–4; Vol. XI. 5–7, 9, 10; and duplicates of I. 5, III. 12, IV. 2, VIII. 7. Canton: 1832–1842. 8vo.

The Indo-Chinese Gleaner. [A quarterly Journal]. Nos. V–X. XIII. XIV. XVII. XVIII. Malacca: 1818–1821. 8vo.

Esop's Fables, written in Chinese by the learned Mun Mooy Seen-Shang, and compiled in the present form (with a free and a literal translation) by his pupil Sloth [Robert Thom, Esq.] . . . . Canton: 1840. Folio.

A Peep at China, in Mr. Dunn's Chinese Collection; with miscellaneous notices relating to the institutions and customs of the Chinese, and our commercial intercourse with them. By E. C. Wines. Philadelphia: 1839. 8vo, pp. vi. 103.

First Annual Report of the Morrison Education Society: read 27th Sept. 1837. Canton: 1837. 8vo, pp. 29.

Proceedings relative to the formation of a Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China. Canton: 1835. 8vo, pp. 13.

A slip from the office of the North-China Herald, containing a reprint of an article in the London Athenæum, No. 1218, for March 1st, 1851, on the word to be employed in Chinese for expressing the Christian idea of God. Shanghae: 1851.

A native Chinese Almanac, for the 26th year of Tao-Kwang (A. D. 1846). 8vo size.

A Chinese Tract, The Two Friends, by Rev. Wm. Milne, D. D. Hong-Kong: 1844. 8vo size.

A Chinese Tract, The Different Deaths of Good and Bad Men. Hong-Kong: 1844. 12mo size.

A Chinese Tract, The Birth of Teen-How, Queen of Heaven, by Rev. W. Medhurst, D. D. 8vo size.

Buddhist pictorial description of the Brahmin and Nat countries; of Meynmo mountain, its lakes and rivers; of the four great islands or continents; of the sixteen countries where Gaudama appeared; of the inferior states of being below man; and of the states of punishment still lower down, under Meynmo mountain. On 60 double strips of palm-leaf, each 2¼ by 20 inches. *Burman.*

A Burman tract, containing a Catechism of Religion, etc. Maulmein: 1836. 8vo.

A Burman tract, the Investigator, by Rev. Mr. Wade. 12mo, pp. 24.

Brahmunical Magazine. The Missionary and the Brahmun, No. 2. Serampore: 1821. 8vo. *Bengâlî* and *English.*

The Gospel Magazine [Monthly periodical, in Bengâlî and English]. Nos. 7–12. June–November, 1820. Calcutta. 8vo.

Samâcâra-Darpaṇa. [A Bengâlî newspaper, 5th No., for June 20, 1818.] Calcutta. Folio, pp. 4. 2 copies.

A Sheet, 20 by 15 inches, giving in large characters the Bengâlî alphabet and numerals. 3 copies.

Alubb el-Khabr el-Aujedy wa el-Baḥr ez-Zâkhir el-Elma'iy. A collection of traditionary accounts respecting the life and character of the Prophet Mohammed; with commentary in margin. By Abû 'Îsa Mohammed . . et-Tirmidhy. Constantinople. A. H. 1264. 8vo size, pp. 128. Lithographed.

Essai sur l'Histoire de la Médecine Belge avant le XIX^me^ Siecle, par C. Broeckx ..... Gand, Bruxelles, et Mons: 1837. 8vo.

List of works printed by, and in preparation for, the Oriental Translation-Fund of Great Britain and Ireland. 8vo, pp. 16., 2 copies.

The Museum. A Catalogue raisonné of rare, valuable, and curious books, offered ... by Bernhard Quaritch. London: 1855. 8vo, pp. 32.

Various German catalogues of antiquarian books.

A parcel of copper coins: three antique, with Cufic inscriptions; one of Shah Alum Beg; the rest recent coinage of British India, the Dutch Possessions, and a Malay state. Also, a parcel of Chinese *cash*.

WILLIAM D. WHITNEY, *Librarian.*

SELECT MINUTES OF MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

A Semi-annual Meeting was held in New Haven, on the 17th and 18th of October, 1855. The President, Rev. Dr. Robinson, in the chair.

The Librarian reported, on behalf of the Library Committee, that, in accordance with the vote of the Society at the last Annual Meeting, its Library and Cabinet had been removed to New Haven, and deposited in the rooms of the Library of Yale College; and that such progress as the time permitted had been made in the work of arranging, cataloguing, and labelling the books. They farther reported the following Rules for the Management of the Library, viz:

1st. The Library, in its place of deposit, shall be accessible for consultation to all Members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; farther, to such other persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian, or Assistant Librarian, of Yale College.

2nd. Members of the Society shall be allowed to draw and remove books from the Library under the following conditions, to wit: the person receiving such books shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian, pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment being in every case to be estimated and determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of one of the Vice-Presidents; and he shall return such books within a time not exceeding three weeks from their reception, unless by special agreement and assent of the Librarian the term shall be extended.

3rd. Persons not members shall also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian, be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.

This report was, upon motion, accepted, and the rules proposed by the Committee were adopted.

The following papers were presented:

On the root PRACH *in Greek (in the word θεοπρόπος);* by Prof. James Hadley, of New Haven.

On the Philosophy of Buddhism; by Rev. Francis Mason, of Burmah.

On Oriental Poetry; by Rev. W. R. Alger, of Boston.

On Archæological Researches in the Acropolis of Athens, being a translation of a paper by K. S. Pittakys, Secretary of the Archæological Society of Athens; by Prof. A. N. Arnold, of Newton.

On Chinese Literature, being an abstract of Prof. Wilhelm Schott's Sketch of a Description of the Chinese Literature, Berlin, 1854; by Prof. W. D. Whitney, of New Haven.

Prof. Salisbury, of New Haven, spoke with regard to the disposition which had been made upon the Phenician monument of Sidon, and the present condition of the work of deciphering the inscription upon it.

Dr. S. R. House, of Bangkok, Siam, presented a Map of the Siamese rivers, plotted from actual surveys made by himself, and exhibited various Siamese documents, pictures, and curiosities, with explanatory remarks respecting them, and with statements concerning manners and conditions in Siam.

The Board of Directors proposed the following Bye-Law, which was unanimously adopted:

If any Corporate Member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of Members of the Society.

An Annual Meeting was held in Boston, on the 14th of May, 1856. In the absence of the President, the Society was called to order by the Rev. Dr. Jenks, Vice-President, who then resigned the chair to the Rev. Dr. Anderson.

After the transaction of preliminary business, and the reading of correspondence, the following persons were chosen officers of the Society for 1856–57:

President,	Rev. Dr. E. Robinson	of New York.
Vice-Presidents,	Rev. Dr. W. Jenks	" Boston.
	Rev. Pres. T. D. Woolsey	of New Haven.
	Prof. C. Beck	of Cambridge.
Corr. Secretary,	" E. E. Salisbury	" New Haven.
Secr. of Class. Section,	" James Hadley	" "
Rec. Secretary,	Mr. Ezra Abbott, Jr.	" Cambridge.
Treasurer,	"	" "
Librarian,	Prof. W. D. Whitney	" New Haven.
Directors,	Rev. Dr. R. Anderson	" Boston.
	Prof. C. C. Felton	" Cambridge.
	Rev. T. Parker	" Boston.
	Dr. C. Pickering	" "
	Mr. W. W. Greenough	" "

On recommendation of the Board of Directors, article VII of the Constitution was amended to read:

The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors, etc.

Rev. W. R. Alger read to the Society specimens of Oriental poetry, rendered into verse by himself, from various translations.

Rev. Dr. Anderson spoke with regard to his recent journey to India.

Rev. Mr. Treat exhibited and remarked upon a copy of the Polyglotta Africana.

A Semi-annual Meeting was held in New Haven, on the 8th and 9th of October, 1856. The President was absent, and the chair was taken by Rev. Pres. Woolsey, the only Vice-President present.

The following communications were made to the Society, after the reading of the correspondence of the past five months:

On the Varieties of Human Language, as illustrated and exemplified by characteristic specimens of single languages of different families; by Prof. Gibbs, of New Haven.

Contributions from the Atharva-Veda to the Theory of Sanskrit Verbal Accent; by Prof. Whitney, of New Haven.

Was Publius Sulpicius Quirinius Praeses of Syria more than once? being in the main an abstract of A. W. Zumpt's discussion of the question in the second volume of his Commentationes Epigraphicae; with a notice of its bearing upon the authenticity of Luke ii. 2; by Rev. Pres. Woolsey, of New Haven.

On Hindû Astronomy, being a translation from the Sanskrit of the Sûrya-Siddhânta, with an introduction and notes, and a history of the science in India; by Rev. E. Burgess, formerly Missionary in India, now of Centreville, Mass.

On the History of the Ionians prior to the Ionian Migration, being an abstract and critical examination of the views of Prof. Ernst Curtius, of Berlin, as given in his work Die Ionier vor der Ionischen Wanderung; by Prof. Hadley, of New Haven.

Leisure Moments in Hebrew Grammar; a discussion of a few difficult points in the exegesis of the Old Testament, and the grammar of the Hebrew; by Prof. W. Henry Green, of Princeton: presented by Prof. Gibbs.

Translations of two Hebrew documents, the one an account, by R. Eliezer ben Nathan, of the sufferings of the Rhine Jews from Christian bigotry at the time of the first Crusade; the other a letter to the German Jews, from Isaac of France, advising them to emigrate to the East; by Prof. W. Henry Green, of Princeton; presented and read in part by Prof. Whitney.

On the Mongol, or Turanian, Family of Languages and Nations, by Prof. Whitney.

Mr. Cotheal, of New York, spoke of a forthcoming and now nearly completed edition of the Makâmat of Hariri, with notes, by the Sheikh Nâsif el-Yazijy.

Dr. M. C. White, of New Haven, exhibited specimens of Chinese native lexica, and explained their method and character.

NEW MEMBERS.

The following members have been added to the Society since the last notice of new members was published.

1. *Corporate Members.*

Prof. E. P. Barrows, of Andover, Mass.
Rev. Convers Francis, D.D., of Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. W. H. McIlvaine, D.D., of Rochester, N. Y.
Mr. W. A. Reynolds, Jr., of New Haven.
Dr. Joseph Wilson, Jr., of the U. S. Navy.

2. *Corresponding Members.*

Dr. S. R. House, of Bangkok, Siam.

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OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

CORRECTED TO OCTOBER, 1856.

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